Dublin English

Varieties of English Around the World

General Editor

Edgar W. Schneider
Department of English & American Studies
University of Regensburg
Universitätsstraße 31
D-93053 REGENSBURG
Germany
edgar.schneider@sprachlit.uni-regensburg.de

Editorial Assistant

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by Raymond Hickey

Dublin English

Evolution and change

Raymond Hickey
Essen University

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Preface

The intention of the present book is to describe the English language as spoken by different groups in Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland, and to outline the history of English in that city since its first arrival several hundred years ago.

There are many reasons for wishing to describe English in Dublin. The most obvious is that there is no published book on the subject to date and so the present work can hopefully fill a gap in the literature on modern varieties of urban English. Another reason is that a major change in the pronunciation of non-local Dublin English has taken place recently, and by extension in other parts of Ireland influenced by this speech. Such change can throw light on the mechanisms of language change in general, particularly because the sociolinguistic situation of Dublin is similar, but by no means identical, to that in many other English-speaking capitals around the world.

This book is divided into two broad sections, one on present-day Dublin English (II) and one on the history of English in the capital (III), with an initial section (I) on the methods used for collecting data. The core of the book is section II. Section III connects to it and tries to trace historical English in Dublin in reverse chronological order. Here historical material has been examined which consists in the main of emigrant letters or local letters by Dubliners and literary attestations of Irish English by Dublin writers as well as prescriptive comments on language in the capital by various authors such as the elocutionist Thomas Sheridan.

The section on modern Dublin English deals with the current changes in pronunciation which have characterised the development of Dublin English in the past decade or two. To this end the data from a broad-based survey of Dublin English is presented and analysed. There are also chapters dedicated to the grammar and vocabulary of Dublin English.

A CD-ROM accompanies this book and contains a suite of flexible programmes with all the recordings of Dublin English used for the current study. The data consists of over 300 sound files, over 200 survey questionnaires and informants' maps and over 100 spoken assessment tests. By means of the supplied software users can examine the original data on their PC (see section IV *Guide to the CD-ROM* for technical information). The programmes offer an easy gateway to the data in the form of a tour of Dublin English, a subset of the data files and much background information on English in Dublin as well as overview information on the English language in the rest of Ireland. The CD-ROM also contains a Java version of the software with which all the data and additional information can be viewed on virtually any computer, including an Apple *Macintosh.* This can be done without installing any software or copying sound files to the hard disk of a computer.

By offering the data on which this study is based it is hoped to reach new levels of accountability for a sociolinguistic investigation of this nature. Because the data on the CD-ROM is central, there are references to individual sound files throughout the book which allow users to hear directly the phenomena which are being discussed at the particular point in the text. These sound files can be accessed by clicking on the items in the tables under the tree node *Sound files referred to in book* (in the *Java* version) or by clicking on the menu option with the same name in the *Windows* software version, called *Discover Dublin English* (both on the accompanying CD-ROM).

In the genesis of this book the author has received much support from many informants in Dublin, who for reasons of anonymity, cannot be mentioned by name. Suffice it to say that this project was only made possible by the willing help given over the years by many individuals, speakers of different forms of Dublin English, who in many conversations provided attestations of the English language in their city. Beyond this smaller group is a much a larger one, consisting of those who cooperated in the large-scale surveys *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* and *A Survey of Irish English Usage* (see Hickey 2004d for details) and who helped in their recordings to back up, or in some cases, refute assumptions about Dublin English.

My thanks also go to Prof. Edgar Schneider for his advice and constructive criticism on this book at earlier stages and for his readiness to accept it into the series *Varieties of English Around the World.* Finally my thanks go to Kees Vaes at John Benjamins who was a friendly and competent editor providing valuable assistance during the production phase of the book.

Raymond Hickey
Essen, April 2005

I Investigating Dublin English

1 Introduction

As an English-speaking metropolis Dublin enjoys a unique status. It is the capital city of the oldest English colony outside of Britain (Aalen and Whelan eds 1992; Brady and Simms eds 2001; Clarke, Dent and Johnson 2002; Cosgrove ed. 1988; Ossory-Fitzpatrick 1977). For more than 800 years the English language has existed in the city where it has evolved in a manner largely independent of other varieties of English. It is true that during the centuries of its history, Dublin English has experienced the superimposition of more standard varieties of English. But on a vernacular level, English has continued a more or less unbroken development for centuries, a fact which has led to a unique mixture of features. There are other reasons for regarding Dublin English as sui generis. It has developed an implicit standard and has gone through internal stages of standardisation and variety separation without the external influence of a national standard of English as in Britain.

As long as there have been records of Dublin English there has been evidence of sub-varieties within the city (see section 1.3 *Classifying Dublin English* below). The vintage of Dublin English has meant that the colloquial forms have evolved a distinct phonetic profile over the many hundreds of years during which these developed. The speech of the better-off inhabitants of the city would seem from early on to have been in a double-bind: on the one hand this section of the population sought means to distinguish itself from the socially lower-placed members of the city's population (dissociation) and on the other hand there was no ready-made standard which they could adopt (any norms were extra-national). The reason for the latter is that in Ireland, more or less from the very beginning of the English involvement in the country, the option of simply emulating the linguistic norms of England was open to the population as this would have meant accepting the preferred form of language in a country which was regarded by many as having imposed its language on Ireland.

Another reason why the evolution of Dublin English is of general interest is that it offers insights into historical processes which are assumed to have taken place in the history of English, but where the time depth is difficult to determine. For instance, the lack of rhoticity: in conservative vernacular Dublin English would appear to be a phenomenon of considerable age as would the use of glottal stops for /t/ in intervocalic and final, open positions.

All of the issues just hinted at here are the subject of dedicated sections in this book. Readers should bear in mind that, for contemporary Dublin English, all the statements made in print can be corroborated by listening to the sound files on the accompanying CD-ROM where the features in question can be heard clearly. Bear in mind also that there is much general information on Irish English (with maps and sound files) on the CD-ROM along with all the Dublin questionnaires from *A Survey of Irish English Usage* (over 200 in all).

1.1 Matters of terminology

Any discussion of Irish English, and by extension of Dublin English, demands that questions of terminology be clarified, as far as possible, at the outset. The general term *Irish English* in this book is intended as a cover term and not as a reference to a specific variety of English on the island of Ireland. The most common term used for English in Ireland in the past has been 'Anglo-Irish'. This term is also applied to the literature written in English by authors born in Ireland and it is found as a reference to politics involving Ireland and England. Strictly speaking, the term refers to a variety of Irish, if one interprets the modifier 'Anglo-' as qualifying the head 'Irish'. But even disregarding this technical matter, the term is not very suitable because of its use – with different meanings and connotations – in other spheres of study. General dissatisfaction with the term led in the past few decades to the use of 'Hiberno-English' as a label. This derives from *Hibernia,* the Latin word for Ireland, which takes on a form with final *-o* as a qualifier in the new compound. This term enjoyed brief popularity in the 1970s and 1980s, especially since the pioneering works of Alan Bliss gave currency to the label. It has been used by many authors since, notably Filppula and Kallen. This has in turn led to many non-Irish writers – such as Lass (1990) – adopting the term, assuming that one should follow local usage in terminology. In recent years, the term has fallen somewhat into disuse, not least because of its overly Latinate form (but see Dolan 1998 who continues the term). The attempts by some authors, such as Henry (1977) and Todd (1992), to introduce and establish a clear difference in usage between 'Hiberno-English' and 'Anglo-Irish' have not resulted in general acceptance among the scholars in the field, not least because these two authors define the terms in diametrically opposing fashions.

The upshot of this situation is that many, if not most, authors (see Kallen 1994, 1997) have reverted to the simpler 'Irish English', quietly distancing themselves from 'Hiberno-English' and definitely from 'Anglo-Irish'. The label 'Irish English' has many inherent advantages: it is parallel to 'Australian English', 'Canadian English', etc. and is readily understandable to scholars outside the field. Further subdivisions can then be introduced much as with American English, which is further differentiated in individual studies.

The above remarks demonstrate clearly that the labels for English in Ireland are by no means fixed. This fact should also be seen in a broader non-linguistic context: there is no popular term for English in Ireland, let alone for Dublin English. For example, no equivalent to Cockney, Scouse or Geordie is found either in the north or south of the country. The term 'brogue' is a special case as it refers (historically) to a salient Irish pronunciation of English and is quite restricted nowadays, being generally negative and disparaging (in an Irish context, but elsewhere, e.g. in the Ocracoke context, North Carolina, this is not necessarily the case, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1997).

The lack of a local label can be linked to the fact that English in Ireland has never received popular recognition as the language of Irish cultural heritage, although it has been the native language of the majority of the Irish population since at least the mid-19th century. This distinction is reserved for the Irish language, a branch of Celtic which has been on the retreat for several centuries but which still enjoys a cherished position in the affections of the Irish from the south and those from the north of a nationalist persuasion.

The status of the Irish language has meant that nothing like Henry L. Mencken's *The American Language* could ever have been written on the English of Ireland, let alone popularly accepted. The Irish are somewhat uncomfortable about their acknowledgement of a specific variety of English because the popular conception of language as the property of a nation would imply undue acceptance of the role of England in the genesis of such a variety. A corollary of this attitude, which has been of importance in the development of a supraregional standard in the Republic of Ireland, is that standard British accents of English are not emulated in the south. Instead a non-localised variety has arisen, roughly based on the speech of middle-class Dublin, but without too many specifically Dublin features. One could perhaps use a term like 'Irish Standard English', in analogy to 'Scottish Standard English' which would refer to varieties spoken with the grammar of standard British English but with an Irish accent to a greater or lesser degree, see Abercrombie (1979), Stuart-Smith (1999: 202) on Scottish Standard English. However, no such label has ever been proposed and it is uncertain whether it would be accepted given the lack of identification which the Irish show with varieties of standard English, no matter how much they may use forms approximating to these themselves.

The clear division between Irish and English in Ireland has meant that no attempt was ever made to regard Irish English as an embodiment of Irishness. There are no ethnical reminiscences or ideologies concerning English in Ireland, unlike the situation in the United States with African American English which is generally seen as a carrier of African American culture (Rickford and Rickford 2000).

The above remarks apply most clearly to the Republic of Ireland. The north of the country is in a different situation, given that, as the state of Northern Ireland, it is part of the United Kingdom and given that it has a significantly different history determined mainly by the settlement in the early modern period of large numbers of speakers from Scotland and northern England. The immediate descendants of this group spoke, and to a much reduced extent, still speak what is termed 'Ulster Scots', the variety of Scots taken to Ulster and which has developed there over the course of the last three centuries or so. As a summary one can list the various terms found in Ireland which relate to language, geography and ethnic affiliation.

Table 1.1 *Linguistic and geographical terms in Ireland*

Irish English	Cover term for English in Ireland which can be more closely specified when needed.
Hiberno-English	Latinate term for English in Ireland; similar to above.
Anglo-Irish	Older term for English in Ireland. Still found overseas as a linguistic term, e.g. in Canadian usage. Also a term in literature and politics.
Southern	A qualifier used to refer to that part of Ireland which excludes the province of Ulster.
Northern	A reference to the north, north-east of the country, intended frequently to be co-extensive with the province of Ulster and/or the state of Northern Ireland (which does not contain the north-west county of Donegal).
Ulster	One of the four provinces of present-day Ireland (along with Connaught, Leinster and Munster) located in the north of the country. It now comprises nine counties, six of which form the state of Northern Ireland, the remaining three being Donegal (north-west Ulster), Cavan and Monaghan (south Ulster).

Ulster English	1) A cover term for various forms of English used in Northern Ireland. 2) A specific reference to English brought to Ulster from the north of England and separate from the Scots element in the province.
Ulster Scots	A continuation of the varieties of (western lowlands) Scots brought to Ireland chiefly in the 17th century.
East-coast	A reference to the area from Dundalk – Drogheda (north of Dublin), including the capital, and down to Waterford on the south-east which was the original area of settlement by English speakers in the late Middle Ages. English in this region shows features not found in the rest of the country.

A few other terms should be mentioned here as they may be found in the body of this book. The label 'Irish' refers to the native inhabitants of Ireland and to the language spoken by the majority in the country before the arrival of the English. In Ireland it is not normal to refer to the Irish language as 'Gaelic' as many foreigners do. The label 'Ireland' is used to refer to the entire island which politically consists of two states, The Republic of Ireland (from 1949) and Northern Ireland (part of the United Kingdom from 1921 onwards). *Éire* is the official name of the southern state, in the Irish language, as specified by the constitution of 1937.

1.2 The city of Dublin

Dublin has the official Irish name *Baile Átha Cliath* 'the town at the ford of hurdles'. There is a second Irish name *Dubh Linn* 'dark pool' which was the source for the anglicised form *Dublin.* It is the capital of the Republic of Ireland and seat of government along with all major Irish administrative organisations, three universities and various colleges of higher education (Bennett 1991, 1994, Boran 2000, Kelleher 1972, McCormack 2000, Moore 1965).

Dublin is located in the centre of the east coast facing the Irish Sea in a county of the same name bounded by the flat counties of Meath and Kildare which form its hinterland to the north and west and by the mountainous county of Wicklow to the south. Co. Dublin has an area of 920 sq km (355 sq mi) and a population of 1,058,300 (1996). The main topographical feature is Dublin Bay into which the River Liffey flows. On the southern border in Wicklow are the Dublin Mountains. The county boundary runs through the southern suburbs. The town of Bray is strictly speaking in Co. Wicklow but now it is virtually a suburb of Dublin and served by the city's railway network. To the north, Dublin extends at least to the airport near Swords and on the north coast beyond Howth though the indented coastline means that it does not continue along the coast in the same manner as on the southside. To the west the city has extended considerably in the past 20 years or so. Parts of north-east Co. Kildare are now suburbs of Dublin with the extensive settlement of the Liffey valley westwards in the direction of Lucan, Leixlip and Dunboyne.

The population of the city is some 481,600 (1996) but a truer figure is that of 953,000 (1996) for Greater Dublin which consists of seamless suburbs fanning out from the centre around the mouth of the Liffey in the centre of Dublin Bay. The population figures are by now (2004) already an under-estimate, particularly because of the influx of young, professional workers in the 1990s participating in the economic boom which gave rise to the epithet 'Celtic Tiger' for Ireland. During the 1900s much of the city was restored, for example the Temple Bar district between Dame Street and the Liffey. The International Finance Centre beyond the Customs House on the north bank of the Liffey estuary expanded considerably on the derelict grounds of the former docklands.

There is an appendix to this book in which a number of maps can be found which show the location of Dublin and its wider setting. These maps are also on the accompanying CD-ROM.

1.3 Classifying Dublin English

In the introduction above reference was made to sub-varieties of English within Dublin. As might be expected of any capital city, different varieties can be recognised and in this section reasons for the labelling followed in this book are given.

When describing different kinds of Dublin English one can choose from a variety of parameters to delimit the various groups of speakers in the city. One could start with traditional terms which refer to class. Class definitions typically involve education, occupation and relative wealth. The middle class – with professionals like doctors, lawyers, teachers – would have all these attributes to a positive degree and one could say that it is the group which sees itself as separate from members of the working class.

However, the matter is not that simple. For instance, air hostesses, bank clerks, company secretaries, people from the world of film and fashion are not necessarily regarded as belonging to the middle class but they certainly come from a section of the population which does not want to be identified with all too localised forms of Dublin English. One could say that it is the group those aspiring upwards – the socially ambitious – which is the motor behi the changes in Dublin English which are to be dealt with in this book. Certain this group belongs to those partaking in the changes. However, soci movement is not necessarily the only or indeed the defining factor for th group. One can recognise their wish to dissociate themselves from the lo prestige and linguistically salient sections of the capital city (this can be seen features of their speech). The two issues, upward social movement a dissociation from groups below (in the vertical social sense), may well go ha in hand, though this is not always recognised in treatments of social motivated language change, e.g. Labov (1994, 2001), Guy (1990).

A common means of referring to middle class speakers is as ‘educated Again this term is not accurate enough for the current study. The determini factor for active participation in change in Dublin English is the extent which speakers espouse urban sophistication. This can be seen as a rejection an all too local identification with Dublin and a conception of self as a play on a (fictional) international stage. Such an understanding of the motivati explains why the changes in Dublin English have been found among grou which may not have enjoyed tertiary education and who are not necessari among the more prosperous – air hostesses, company secretaries, up-mark shop assistants. It furthermore accounts for why many established professiona – genuinely educated speakers in any sense of the term – such as doctor teachers, lecturers, do not necessarily show the recent changes in Dubl English. Indeed if such speakers have a strong sense of local identity they m show features of popular Dublin English in their speech.

For the discussion of English in Dublin a twofold division, with further subdivision, can be used. The first group consists of those who use t inherited popular form of English in the capital. The term ‘local’, as use already, is intended to capture this and to emphasise that these speakers a those who show strongest identification with traditional conservative Dubl life of which the popular accent is very much a part. The reverse of this ‘non-local’ which refers to sections of the metropolitan population who do n wish a narrow, restrictive identification with popular Dublin culture. Th group then subdivides into a larger, more general section labelled ‘mainstrea and a second, burgeoning group which rejects an association with local Dubli In previous publications, the author has used the label ‘fashionable’ to descri the speech of the latter group. In the context of Dublin English in the 1990s th term was justified. The original group to show the changes, which have take place in the speech of the capital, especially in the area of vowels, was relatively small one which was clearly aware of fashions and trends in Dubl

1998 and 1999a as examples) the changes were most apparent in sections of the population, mostly female, which regarded themselves as part of new Dublin, however vague this term may be, and which wanted to hive themselves off from traditional local culture in the capital. It was only in the late 1990s and into the 2000s that the changes in mainstream Dublin English spread rapidly and became typical of large sections of the city's population and of young people, especially females, throughout the Republic of Ireland in general. Given this situation, the speech of this group is, for want of a better term, simply labelled 'new'.

Table 1.2 *Divisions of Dublin English*

1) *local* Dublin English	
2) *non-local* Dublin English –	a) *mainstream* Dublin English
	b) *new* Dublin English

2 Collecting data

The present section offers background information on surveys carried out by the author on English in Ireland and on Dublin English in particular. It furthermore discusses and attempts to assess the methods employed in these surveys. There have been two projects within which all the data on Dublin English for this book was collected and which is contained on the accompanying CD-ROM.

(1) a. *Change in Dublin English* (1994-1998)
b. *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (2000-2002)

The results from the first project were published in a series of articles in the late 1990s (Hickey 1998, 1999a, 2000c) and those from the second are available in Hickey (2004d). The first project was initiated after observations on changes in pronunciation in Dublin were made by the author from the late 1980s onwards. The appropriateness of such a project was confirmed with each passing year in which the new pronunciation in Dublin became ever more widespread. Because of the status of Dublin as capital of the Republic of Ireland, the new pronunciation disseminated from here to the rest of the country. The desire to record this spread was one of the main reasons for the second, larger project which followed after 2000.

The main purpose of the sound atlas project was to record, in as comprehensive a form as possible, the different varieties, both urban and rural, of English spoken throughout the entire island of Ireland at present. Naturally given the size and status of Dublin, several hundred of the over 1,500 recordings for the entire country were actually from the capital. The project did not set out to confirm any specific theory about Irish English, i.e. there was no 'theoretical hunch' (Johnson 2000: 88f.) which the author wished to prove or disprove although the recording of current changes in English, particularly in the Republic of Ireland, disseminating from the capital Dublin, was a primary objective.

2.1 Change in Dublin English: Collecting the data

The observations concerning vowel shifts in Dublin English (see section 2.5 *Details of the vowel shift* below) go back to the 1980s when the author noticed a significant retraction of the onset for the diphthong /ai/ and a raising of the vowel in the THOUGHT lexical set among certain sectors of the population. The normal realisation of the /ai/ vowel is [əɪ] in vernacular varieties of Dublin English and [aɪ] in middle class Dublin English, including the supraregional variety of English in the Republic of Ireland which is derived from non-vernacular usage in the capital in the 20th century.

Moving on from single instances of the vowel shift, the author attempted to narrow down the groups within Dublin which showed the vowel shift most clearly. From this resulted the interpretation of its motivation which, in the opinion of the author, lies in a deliberate reaction to the vernacular of the city, a movement away from local vowel realisations beyond the supraregional standard to a new variety of Dublin English which cannot be seen as either dialect levelling (Williams and Kerswill 1999) or an incipient approximation to any British standard.

A clear example of this is seen in the following case. Most female members of the ground staff, under approximately 30, at Dublin Airport show the vowel shift as do the majority of the (female) flight attendants with the national airline Aer Lingus. The shift is quite evident in the numbers of flights which frequently contain the numerals 'five' or 'nine' or in such sentences as 'Would you like an isle seat?' where the pronunciations [fɑɪv], [nɑɪn], [ɑɪl] are regular.

In order to quantify intuitions about the vowel shift, systematic data was collected over a four-year period from 1994 to 1998. The first stage of the collection consisted of examining unconscious answers of shop assistants to various questions from the present author. The method employed was essentially similar to that used by Labov for his classic investigation of New

York City English (Labov 1966). An interview was carried out which enabled the collection of data without the awareness of the interviewee that he/she was being observed linguistically.

The two variables which were of primary interest for the investigation are (ai) and (ɔi), the former having played a somewhat more important role as the vowel shift would seem from the earliest observations to have been a push shift initiated by onset retraction with (ai).

2.2 Initial methods used

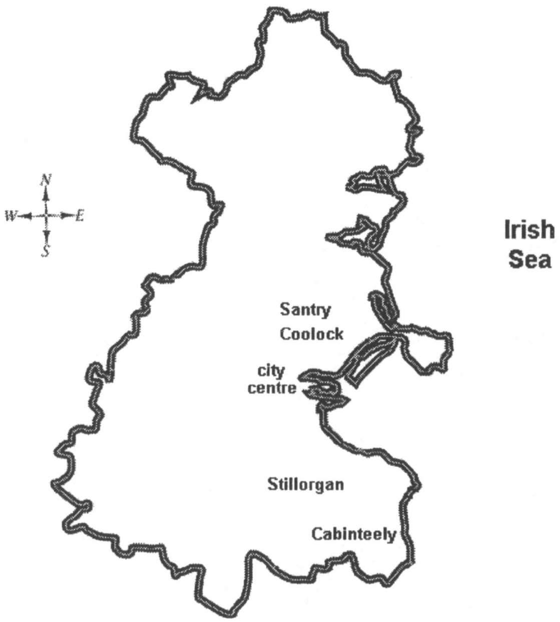
The collection of sociolinguistic data obviously requires a considerable degree of planning in advance. It also, by its very nature, implies that a few methods were tested until the final means of recording was chosen. This is indeed the case. The author began recording in the mid 1990s using a variant of the 'rapid anonymous interview' (Labov 1966). There are two types of anonymous interviews. The first is where the informant does not know that an interview is taking place. The second is where he/she does, but the name of the informant is not known to the author.

The purpose of rapid anonymous interviews in the Dublin context was to obtain attestations for the diphthong in the PRICE lexical set, i.e. (ai), and in addition for the diphthong in the CHOICE. lexical set, i.e. (ɔi).

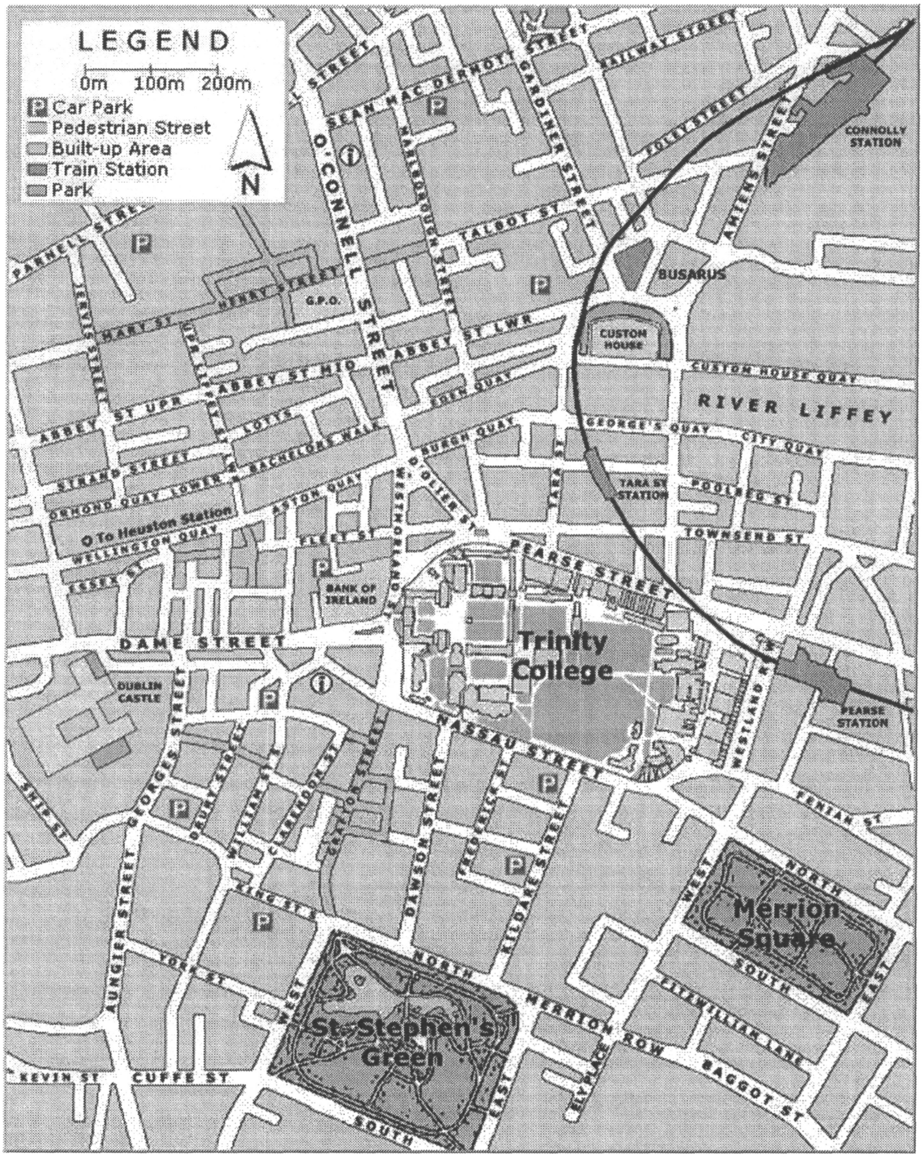
A selection of locations in Dublin were chosen which were taken to be representative of both halves of the city. On the north side, two shopping centres were chosen in less residentially desirable areas: 1) the Northside Shopping Centre, close to the motorway and an industrial estate in Coolock and 2) the Omnipark Shopping Centre in Santry, near Ballymun, which contains Ireland's only group of high rise flats. These two locations were assumed (as it turned out, quite rightly) not to be areas in which would-be sophisticated urbanites would alter their speech to hive themselves off from the vernacular-speaking local population.

For the purposes of comparison two outlying shopping centres on the south side were also examined: 1) Stillorgan and 2) Cabinteely, both of which are several miles from the city centre, further from this than are Santry and Coolock as can be seen from the following map.

Locations of Dublin suburbs



The south side of the city begins on the south bank of the Liffey and for this reason the area around Grafton Street can be taken as representative of the south side commercially. Grafton Street is about half a mile south of the Liffey and runs approximately in a north south direction. At its north end it is bounded by Trinity College and on the south by St. Stephens Green. It is the centre of Dublin's main shopping precinct, bounded on the west by some minor streets and on the east by the parallel Dawson Street. At the north end, parallel to one side of Trinity is Nassau Street which runs in a west to east direction and which contains some up-market shops including those in the Setanta Centre.


LEGEND
0m 100m 200m
P Car Park
Pedestrian Street
Built-up Area
Train Station
Park
N
PARNELL STREET
SEAN MAC DERMOTT STREET
GARDINER STREET
RAILWAY STREET
FOLEY STREET
AMIENS STREET
CONNOLLY STATION
O'CONNELL STREET
MARLBOROUGH STREET
TALBOT ST
BUSARUS
HENRY STREET
G.P.O.
MARY ST
JERVIS STREET
ABBEY ST LWR
CUSTOM HOUSE
CUSTOM HOUSE QUAY
RIVER LIFFEY
ABBEY ST MID
ABBEY ST UPR
LIFFEY ST
LOTTS
EDEN QUAY
BACHELORS WALK
STRAND STREET
ORMOND QUAY LOWER
BURGH QUAY
GEORGE'S QUAY
CITY QUAY
TARA ST
TARA ST STATION
D'OLIER ST
WESTMORLAND ST
ASTON QUAY
POOLBEG ST
O To Heuston Station
WELLINGTON QUAY
FLEET ST
TOWNSEND ST
ESSEX ST
BANK OF IRELAND
PEARSE STREET
DAME STREET
Trinity College
DUBLIN CASTLE
WESTLAND ROW
PEARSE STATION
NASSAU STREET
GEORGES STREET
DRURY STREET
WILLIAM ST
CLARENDON ST
GRAFTON STREET
DAWSON STREET
FREDERICK ST
KILDARE STREET
SHIP ST
FENIAN ST
NORTH
WEST
Merrion Square
SOUTH
EAST
KING ST S
AUNGIER STREET
YORK ST
NORTH
WEST
St. Stephen's Green
MERRION ROW
ELY PLACE
FITZWILLIAM LANE
BAGGOT ST
KEVIN ST
CUFFE ST
SOUTH
EAST

Grafton Street is now completely pedestrianised and houses a variety of different shops which are in the upper range of the market. Two types of shop figure prominently on Grafton Street: 1) clothes shops and 2) jewellery shops. Of the former the most prestigious is probably Brown and Thomas, Arnotts and Laura Ashley all of which carry a range of fairly expensive clothes and accoutrements such as ladies' perfumes and jewellery. In the meantime, some of these shops have ceased to exist but have been replaced by others of a similar category.

The river Liffey is a dividing line and when one crosses it moving northwards one enters a different type of urban setting. The continuation of O'Connell Bridge across the Liffey is O'Connell Street which runs about half a mile northwards to the south-east corner of Parnell Square. There are many shops on this street, mixed in types, and generally in the mid range in terms of price. For instance, the book shop Eason's is a general store with a large supply of popular literature, school books, and print media. The more prestigious and academically oriented book shops are to be found on Dawson and Nassau Street on the south side of the city. Equally the general store Clerys covers a wide range of goods at normal, middle of the road prices. This is true of the shops in streets to the left and right of O'Connell Street and to the ILAC shopping centre, west of O'Connell Street, about half way down. It is probably fair to say that there are virtually no exclusive, up-market shops in this entire shopping area; all of these are located in the region of Grafton Street.

North of O'Connell Street a pattern is evident which is typical of modern suburb settlements, not just in Ireland: there are corner shops which provide for small needs, typically newsagents, tobacconists, grocery stores, often combined into one. Beyond that there are large shopping centres for one-stop shopping. These contain as their focus one or two large department stores with many smaller shops around them. Frequently the shops in such centres are part of chains of stores, found also in other shopping centres in other cities, apart from Dublin.

2.3 Conducting the interviews

For the interviews of the first project, *Change in Dublin English* (1994-1998), the author entered a particular shop and searched for an item on sale, preferably one which cost £5.99 (or with the later project, the equivalent in Euro currency) or indeed any price which ended in 99 pence/cent (practically all do and hence price tags show this figure). Furthermore, he tried to ensure that the item was made in Ireland. He then approached an assistant and, feigning short-sightedness, asked what sum was on the tag. Reading out the price provided a spontaneous pronunciation of the /ai/ diphthong before a voiced consonant, in *five* and in *nine* respectively. This environment was that in which the vowel shift, if present for a particular speaker, would have been noticeable. The question was then repeated, which gave a more careful pronunciation of the same words.

Table 2.1 *Structure of rapid anonymous interview, variant 1*

Question 1:
    Hello, I'm afraid I don't have my glasses with me, could you tell me the price of this item?
Answer 1:
    Five ninety nine [spontaneous style]
Question 2:
    I beg your pardon?
Answer 2:
    Five ninety nine [more careful style]

For the vowel shift of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the pronunciation of the two key words *Ireland* and *Irish* was important. These words are obviously common and have high iconic value so that for many speakers the shift was particularly obvious in their phonetic realisation of these words. To elicit a pronunciation of these items, the following question was added to the above in each interview.

Table 2.2 *Structure of rapid anonymous interview, variant 2*

Question 3:
    I wonder could you tell me where this item [garment, etc.] was made?
Answer 3:
    In Ireland.
Question 4:
    You mean it's not English?
Answer 4:
    No, it's Irish.

The answers to questions 3 and 4 were not always predictable. The answers indicated above were given about half the time, but they varied from some other sentences like 'It's home-produced', 'It was made here alright' or just

'No' for question 4. This meant that the amount of data here was much lower than for variant 1 of the interview.

Recording the pronunciation of the vowel /ai/ was done immediately after the brief interview. In this situation, the author had to remember the pronunciation as accurately as possible and for this reason only three variants were recognised although phonetically the range was much greater.

(2) a. /ai/ → [əɪ] (local)
b. /ai/ → [aɪ] (mainstream)
c. /ai/ → [ɑɪ] (new)

The vowel shift, in its initial form, would seem to have been a push shift with the retraction of /ai/ providing the impetus for the change. This meant that the /ɔi/ vowel which normally has a lowered and somewhat unrounded realisation in Irish English was realised close to [ɔɪ] in those varieties which showed the vowel shift.

(3)	/ai/		/ɔi/
Local DE	[əɪ]	–	[ɑɪ]
Mainstream DE	[aɪ]	–	[ɒɪ]
New DE	[ɑɪ]	–	[ɔɪ]

Testing for the (ɔi) variable within the first investigation was done in the following manner. The author ascertained whether the store in question had a department for children's toys.

Table 2.3 *Structure of rapid anonymous interview, variant 3*

Question 1:
I'm looking for something for my 8-year old nephew for his birthday, do you know where I might look?
Answer 1:
Yeah, in the toy department. [spontaneous style]
Question 2:
I beg your pardon?
Answer 2:
Why don't you try the *toy* department. [more careful style]

The name of the department was offered in over 80% of cases. Sometimes an answer like 'In the kids'/children's department' was given which was not useful in the present context where the pronunciation of the (ɔi) variable was the object of interest. As with (ai), all realisations were assigned to one of three variants as follows.

(4) a. /ɔi/ → [ɑɪ] (local)
b. /ɔi/ → [ɒɪ] (mainstream)
c. /ɔi/ → [ɔɪ] (new)

An important result in this connection is that those speakers with the raised realisation of (ɔi) also had a retracted realisation of (ai) which would suggest that the former was caused by the retraction evident in the latter.

2.4 Results of the data collection

The method used for data collection in the initial Dublin survey turned out to be quite satisfactory. There were of course certain restrictions imposed by the method used. The most important was that the interviews were all very short and put a high demand on the author's memory. The realisations which informants used had to be memorised and written down very soon afterwards, in effect the moment the author left the shop in question. The amount of data which can be recorded in this manner is quite limited but this is outweighed by the genuineness of the data and the certainty that informants are not influenced by prior knowledge of the investigation.

The data collected showed that an area in Dublin where the vowel shift was clearly represented was the up-market shopping area of Grafton Street and its neighbouring streets. A closer examination in a number of selected shops was carried out after these initial results had been obtained. One reason for a taking a more detailed look at vowel realisations was that the initial results seemed to deliver an unexpected picture. The number of attestations of the vowel shift was not quite as high as expected, despite the previous uncoordinated observations made at these locations before the quantifying of data began in 1994.

Somewhat low ratings for the vowel shift were obtained in the Grafton Street area and it was suspected that this could have been the result of the data collection method. However, there was no obvious reason why a method which worked in one part of the city should not do so in another part. Rather the ratings would seem to have had the following cause. Retraction of (ai) arises from a relaxation of muscular tension for the onset of the diphthong. This is the articulatory directive for speakers wishing to distance themselves phonetically from the local [əɪ] realisation. But during the anonymous interview, when presented with a question from a customer who claimed short-sightedness, a tenser and clearer articulation was used, even the first time round, which militated against the relaxation which is a precondition for (ai) retraction. That such a relaxation is the essential articulatory element with [ɑɪ] is supported by the fact that before voiceless consonants, which inherently involve a tenser articulation, the vowel shift was not attested to anything like the same degree as before voiced consonants.

In order to test the possible correctness of this analysis a further interview was designed and data was collected in 1996 and 1997 in the Grafton Street area. In this case, only jewellery shops were chosen. The reason for this is that this type of shop caters for better off sections of society, however, the employees are usually younger women who frequently come from lower middle-class backgrounds. This is a scenario in which one finds the employees adapting their behaviour, linguistic and otherwise, to that of their clientele. This leads, of course, to hyperadaptation. Indeed it soon became obvious, that this group – young, lower middle-class females – was very active in the vowel shift, if not in fact the prime motor in this development.

To ensure that a maximally relaxed interview could be conducted, a longer time was taken for each. Furthermore, a time of day was chosen when the assistants were likely to be on their own, or at maximum with one or two other customers in the shop. So the interviews were typically conducted early in the morning or during lunchtime, when business was slightly slacker. The strategy employed was the following: the author entered the shop with the obvious intention of buying some jewellery. Approached by a shop assistant, he then asked for earrings with a Celtic design. This ensured that the word *design* occurred several times in the ensuing conversation. The phonotactic environment – /ai/ + voiced consonant – was that in which the vowel shift would be expected to turn up, if the interviewee had it. There was one slight disadvantage of this approach compared to the earlier type of interview based on feigned short-sightedness. Here the author had to place a request for a particular type of earring and hence may have, in one or two situations, provoked his type of pronunciation with assistants who showed a high degree of phonetic accommodation (Trudgill 1986). However, the use of the word *design* could be put to good use in this context. By employing a popular Dublin pronunciation – *design* [dəˈzəɪn] – the author was able to provoke the use of the shifted vowel, i.e. *design* [dəˈzɑɪn]. The reason for this lies in the motivation of the shift as a form of dissociation of the upwardly mobile group from local, working-class sections of the Dublin population.

Table 2.4 *Structure of longer anonymous interview*

Introductory question:

> Hello, I'm looking for earrings for my wife. She's German and she'd like to have some with a Celtic design.

Typical initial response:

> Right, we've actually got quite a range with a Celtic design. Would you like to come over to the showcase and have a look . . .

After this opening a conversation of anything between 3 and 10 minutes ensued in which the author paid particular attention to tokens of the /ai/ diphthong.

The interpretation of the Dublin vowel shift as motivated by the desire to dissociate oneself in language from locals was clearly confirmed one time during data collection when the author was in a Grafton Street jewellery shop early one morning. There was no-one in the shop apart from him and a single shop assistant. After engaging in conversation on the matter of earrings for a few moments, he was presented with a few pairs which were prohibitively expensive. The assistant obviously noted the expression of surprise and dismay on his face and, as if to apologise for the pricing policy of her employers, immediately fell back into her native pronunciation, a clear local Dublin accent, and commented profusely on the cost of living and inflation in present-day Ireland. In this particular case it was plain that the young woman had adopted a new pronunciation which she felt was expected in her work environment, a pronunciation quite different from her own vernacular, that of lower-class north Dublin.

2.5 Data and figures

Below tables are offered to show the data obtained in the *Change in Dublin English* project. As /ai/ – in a retracted realisation – was suspected of having been the diphthong which initiated the vowel shift, this received most attention. Two phonetic environments were examined, word-final and pre-consonantal position, indicated below by (ai#) and (aiC) and found in the keywords TRY and DESIGN respectively. The other vowel of interest was that of the CHOICE lexical set. However, the design of the investigation (see interview questions discussed above) meant that attestations of this diphthong in word-final position only were collected so that one can talk here of the TOY lexical set.

As detailed above, four areas of the city were chosen as representative of the north and south. The areas labelled 'Northside' and 'Southside' respectively are residential areas which contain shopping areas. The remaining two are commercial areas in the centre of Dublin (see maps above).

Northside

Northside Shopping Centre; Coolock Industrial Estate; Omnipark Shopping Centre

Southside

Stillorgan and Cabinteely shopping districts

North city centre

ILAC Shopping Centre and neighbouring streets to left and right of O'Connell Street

South city centre

Grafton Street, Dawson Street and neighbouring streets

The collection period was just over four years, from July 1994 to September 1998. The minimum set of data for an evaluation contained at least 30 attestations. In the following table, local, mainstream and new realisations are ordered from left to right.

Variable	(ai#) *try*			(aiC) *design*		
	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]
spontaneous style	5	26	0	8	23	1
careful style	3	28	0	3	27	0
Northside, n = 31						
	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]
spontaneous style	9	25	3	5	28	4
careful style	7	27	3	6	29	2
North city centre, n = 37						
	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]
spontaneous style	2	20	20	1	17	24
careful style	0	29	13	0	22	20
Grafton Street area, n = 42						
	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[əɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]
spontaneous style	5	17	11	6	15	12
careful style	5	24	4	5	23	7
Southside, n = 33						

Variable	(ɔi#) *toy*			
	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]
spontaneous style	5	17	10	0
careful style	3	16	13	0
Northside, n = 32				
	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]
spontaneous style	4	16	12	3
careful style	3	16	14	2
North city centre, n = 35				
	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]
spontaneous style	0	3	20	17
careful style	0	1	27	12
Grafton Street area, n = 40				
	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]
spontaneous style	3	6	21	4
careful style	1	8	23	2
Southside, n = 34				

2.6 Increasing the data base

The material collected in the mid 1990s covered a relatively small but essential section of Dublin English. But it was clear from this data that there was a relationship to a much broader set of varieties comprising both Dublin English and Irish English in general. For a number of reasons, from practical matters such as funding and available time to the strictly linguistic wish to register change in progress, the author decided to expand the scope of recordings, to encompass both more data from Dublin and from varieties of English around the entire country, both north and south. A much more comprehensive plan was drawn up which was to involve the entire island of Ireland. In addition the goal was not just to check for variable realisations which might or might not offer attestations of the current vowel shift in Dublin, although these were recorded as well. In terms of methodology, there is a clear contrast between the interviews from the early Dublin recordings and those for the later *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004d) as can be seen from the following table.

Table 2.5 *Organisation of interview for two main types of recording*

	rapid	anonymous	unconscious
First Dublin recordings	x	x	x
Sound atlas recordings	–	x	–

By ‘unconscious’ is meant here that the informants were not aware that their language was being recorded, as with the classical ‘rapid anonymous interview’ which originated with William Labov, see the methodological discussions in Labov (1966).

The encounters for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* were not interviews in a conventional sense of the word. They were recordings in which informants read one or more of three possible texts (see below). There was no recorded verbal interaction, although some interaction did take place to convince people to participate in the recordings and often some discussion took place afterwards, typically with questions about what the purpose of the investigation was, what was going to happen to the data, what the results so far were like, etc. The amount of discussion varied greatly. In rural and small town settings with older individuals there was often a very considerable amount with anecdotes involving experiences of the informants which had some relation to language and language use. Frequently, informants asked the author about the meaning of words or which of two possible expressions he thought the ‘correct’ one, assuming that his job gave him the right to pronounce on such matters.

2.7 *Aim of the recordings*

The title ‘sound atlas’ (Hickey 2004d) implies that there is full geographical coverage of a country or at least of the area in which a variety is spoken. It also suggests that a large number of recordings are involved. An idea of the volume of the earlier and the later survey can be given by comparing numbers: the investigation of Dublin English in the mid-1990s resulted in 142 recordings which were suitable for linguistic evaluation (Hickey 1999a). *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* on the other hand consists of over 1,500 recordings from something approaching 1,200 speakers.

Table 2.6 *Relative quantities of data in surveys*

Survey	*Time span*	*No. of recordings*
First Dublin recordings	1994-1998	142
Sound atlas recordings	2000-2002	1,517 (all of Ireland) 314 (Dublin)

In order to serve a purpose as a reference work, a sound atlas must encompas all sounds which might occur in any variety within the area considered an then register pronunciations of these in recordings. Designing a net to catch a sound features was the first task on the way to producing the sound atlas. Th most unstructured method one could use would be to interview speakers an hope that in a sufficiently long stretch of speech everything would appea which was worth registering. There are two disadvantages to this, howeve The first is that it requires that informants consent to talking to the author for length of time. But only a tiny minority were likely to want to engage in conversation of this kind with a perfect stranger. The second disadvantage i that the amount of time required with this method is considerably greater tha for the method which was used.

The choice fell for a method in which informants were presented with set of short sentences, each of which contained a token of a particular lexica set, e.g. *He put his* FOOT *in it* (the highlighting of keywords was not containe in the sentences presented to informants). In all 54 such sentences prove necessary. They fitted onto a single A4 page, an important factor as it i definitely off-putting if informants suspect that there is more to th investigation – timewise – than meets the eye, i.e. if there are several page involved.

It should be mentioned that the words with which John Wells chose t illustrate his original lexical sets (see Wells 1982) are frequently not ver common. For instance, the lexical set which contains the /ʌ/ vowel is STRUT However, the actual word *strut* does not occur anywhere in the recordings o Irish English which the author has collected over the past decade or so, le alone occur in a form suitable for a digital recording. This means that the soun files which accompany the lexical sets on the CD-ROM contain pronunciation of some other word, e.g. *cut* for the STRUT lexical set (in the sample sentenc *He* CUT *the piece of twine*). The same is true for the FLEECE lexical set. Thi was tested by using the word MEET in the sample sentence *They didn't bothe to* MEET *him.*

2.8 Organisation of the recordings

An essential element of the recording strategy for the sound atlas was that all recordings involved reading a set of made-up sentences and that all recordings were to be anonymous. The latter feature was a precondition of being able to process the data further. Once speakers knew the investigation was anonymous, their readiness to participate rose dramatically.

Certain types of organisation are automatically excluded if recordings are to be anonymous. It is not possible to do recordings in the interior of houses and keep them anonymous. So one of the scenarios considered during the planning phase at the outset – that of asking people in guesthouses and private 'bed and breakfast' accommodation – was not possible, nor did it seem to resonate with potential informants as was discovered during a short trial run.

The only solution was to do everything in the open, essentially on the street, as only there could one expect to meet potential informants in a maximally impersonal surrounding. However, there is one severe disadvantage with this scenario: streets are loud places and hence the quality of tape recordings is likely to suffer accordingly. Good equipment with a directional microphone is helpful, but the equipment must be physically small because large devices, such as a big microphone with a muffler, are intimidating. In fact the author held the small cassette recorder and the external microphone under the clipboard with the sample sentences so that it was not immediately obvious to those asked to participate that he wished to record them. It was only after saying that the recording was completely anonymous and consisted solely of made-up sentences that the cassette recorder was switched on and came into view. The external microphone improved the quality of the recordings and, importantly, allowed the author to stand back somewhat from the informant and so not intrude on his/her personal space, obviously a significant factor with younger female informants.

2.9 Obtaining recordings for Dublin English

For *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*, the street setting was used very often, not least because the author was driving around the country and so the street was the first suitable scenario for doing recordings. In Dublin the situation was somewhat different. Because the author was based there for several weeks at a time there were many occasions where he met informants in an interior setting. Furthermore, the capital provided opportunities which were not available in the countryside or in small towns. For instance, shopping malls proved a useful area to try and win informants. Many young people hang around in malls with little to occupy them and doing a recording often provided a brief and welcome relief from boredom. The corridors and staircases are open enough for people not to be apprehensive. However, here there is frequent noise from passers-by and the corridors of shopping malls tend to echo considerably. Schools and universities were used occasionally for pupils and students alike. In a few cases teachers were helpful and asked their pupils to cooperate. This was especially useful for recordings of Dublin English on the northside of the city.

2.10 Sample sentences with lexical sets

The following set of sentences were presented to informants for them to read. The sentences were printed on a single A4 page without the highlighting which can be seen below. A recording took approximately two minutes. By and large the recordings were successful, but some speakers, above all older ones, had difficulties, perhaps because of less than average reading skills or a slight nervousness at being recorded or both.

Sentences with lexical sets key words used for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*

They bought a KIT to make beer.
She bought herself a new DRESS.
They walked into the TRAP.
There're a LOT of people outside.
He CUT the piece of twine.
He put his FOOT in it.
They didn't bother to MEET him.
You have to put a brave FACE on it.
They bought a new BATH last week.
Spare a THOUGHT for your parents.
You should go SOFT on him.
They kept a GOOSE in the back yard.
The PRICE has gone up again.
They're the PRIDE of the nation.
The city is at the MOUTH of the river.
The CHOICE was the right one.
They had a GOAT on their farm.
It's near the MODERN station.
Down by the town SQUARE.
There's a CURE for that now.
I suppose they're HAPPY now.
She's learning how to DANCE.
We took a different PATH.
I THINK it's time to go.
Now BREATHE in slowly, please.
There're TWO of them here.
She'd like to go for a DIP.
They've a new WATER supply.
Are they READY now?
Will you GET another chance?
She SAID she was coming.
Take a LOOK at the car.
The RAIL track is overgrown.
You'll have to RUN for the bus.
My back is very SORE lately.
There's a GAP in the field.
He put his CAP on.
He was TALKING about his wife.
She took her SHOES off.
The whole floor is WET.

The film should START soon.
He's travelling up NORTH.
The FORCE of the wind increased.
Ask the other NURSE for water.
The prison TERM was quite long.
There's a LETTER for you today.
Put a COMMA after that word.

WHICH one do you mean?
That wasn't VERY FAIR. /-ɛri, -eːr/
It's just his STYLE. /-ail/
We haven't any TIME. /-aim/
They REALISED the problem..
We live in IRELAND. /air-/
All of us are IRISH. /air-/

2.11 Free text

Section of free text used for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*

Getting ready for their holidays

Michael and Maura had been planning to go to Italy for a long time now. First they were thinking of going in July but decided that it would be too hot. They also realised that there're too many tourists around then. Instead they thought they'd travel at a quieter time, like early spring, so they booked their flight for March. The travel agency was able to fix up a nice apartment for them to stay in. This meant they could drive around during the day and not be tied to mealtimes in a hotel. The plane was to fly from Dublin to Rome and the idea was that someone on the other side was to pick them up and take them to the apartment. Maura wanted to go for a whole month, but Michael thought a fortnight was enough. After all, he said, they could always come again if they liked it. Maura was thinking she might learn some Italian. It was a soft language she said, it sounded like music, and she worked out that she could do an hour every morning, listening to tapes and that would help her get used to the sound of Italian. When Michael asked why she bought the book and the tapes she explained: "You can't expect all the locals to speak English and anyway a bit of the language always comes in handy when you're trying to read road signs or make sense of a menu or looking at the label on a bottle of wine". Michael agreed it was a good idea and said he might try and pick up a word or two himself.

If speakers were willing and had enough time they were also asked to read the following stretch of text 'in a natural voice at their normal speed'. The text is by the author and deliberately constructed so as to have words illustrating all the lexical sets of interest in the Irish English context.

2.12 Word list

A number of speakers from Dublin were asked to read out the following words. The purpose of this was to check their pronunciation of key sounds, such as /l/ in word-final position, /hw/, /ai/, /ɔi/, etc. In a very few cases, to be heard on the sound files of the accompanying CD-ROM, speakers were asked after reading, to repeat the words as fast as possible to ensure that they were not changing their native pronunciation because of the word list situation.

Word list for critical pronunciations in Dublin English

Please read the following slowly - thankyou.

DEAL	MEAL
WHICH	WITCH
MARCH	PARK
FARE	SQUARE
MILD	WILD
TIGHT	RIGHT
CORK	THOUGHT
TOY	CHOICE
LOT	BOAT
TOWN	MOUTH

II English in present-day Dublin

1 Introduction

Like any other modern city Dublin shows areas of high and low social prestige. The city lies at the mouth of the river Liffey in the centre of the east coast, and spreads along the shores of the horseshoe shape of Dublin bay. The suburbs, which have increased dramatically since the sixties, reach down to Bray and beyond into Co. Wicklow in the south, to the West in the direction of Maynooth and to the north at least to Swords, the airport and beyond. The Dublin conurbation now encompasses between a third and a quarter of the population of the Republic of Ireland, i.e. well over one million speakers. The extension of the city to the west into its hinterland has led to a proliferation of communities where people live who commute into the centre of the city. The wish to attain affordable housing has led to commuters accepting considerable distances between where they live and where they work, with many people travelling from far out in counties Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Wicklow into Dublin city each day.

Within Dublin there is a clear divide between the north and the south side of the city. The latter is regarded as more residentially desirable (with the exception of Howth and its surroundings on the peninsula which forms the north side of Dublin bay and a few other suburbs actually on the shore of the bay). Within the south there is a cline of prestige with the area around Ballsbridge, Donnybrook, and somewhat further away from the centre, Foxrock, enjoying highest status. This is the area of certain key complexes like the Royal Dublin Society (an important exhibition and event centre in the capital) and the national television studios RTE (Radio Telefís Éireann, 'Irish Radio and Television') and of the national university (University College Dublin) in Belfield. This entire area is known by its postal number, Dublin 4. Indeed this number gave its name to a now obsolete sub-accent within Dublin English known as the 'Dublin 4 Accent' which will be dealt with below (see section 2.2 *In the beginning was Dublin 4* below).

The less prestigious parts of the city are known by their district names such as the Liberties in the centre of the city, immediately north of the river Liffey and Ballymun, the only suburb in Ireland with high-rise flats and which is associated with adverse social conditions. In the course of the 1990s there was a considerable amount of urban renewal in the centre of Dublin. For instance, the entire hinterland of the docks on the immediate north-side was revamped architecturally. As these areas became fashionable they were gentrified and then no longer accessible to less affluent sectors of Dublin society who tended to move away into the housing estates which stretch northwards.

1.1 How can one tell a moderate Dublin accent?

In section I 1.3 *Classifying Dublin English* above it was proposed to divide Dublin English into three main varieties for the purposes of linguistic discussion. This division recognises a local variety, a mainstream one and a new variety. Needless to say, such labels represent abstractions and the examination of real data, such as that on the recordings of the accompanying CD-ROM, force one to acknowledge the existence of sub-varieties, particularly of mixed accents with features from one or more of the major divisions. Nonetheless to open the discussion of Dublin English it is sensible to use a simple classification. Nuances will be introduced when discussing individual features and instances of change later on.

The mainstream accent of Dublin English has functioned throughout the 20th century as the supraregional accent of English in the south of Ireland, a quasi-standard, even if it is has never been accorded recognition as such. As with any metropolitan accent, one finds certain popular features represented to a limited degree in educated non-local forms. This is true of Dublin English, although on a supraregional level the exposure to local features from the capital is absent. The locally influenced variety can be termed a 'moderate Dublin accent' and the term could equally be applied to other capitals such as London where, for example, vowel realisations intermediary between Received Pronunciation (RP) and Cockney are typical of the speech of educated, non-working class Londoners.

Dubliners can be distinguished from urbanites from the rest of the Irish Republic by characteristic pronunciations. For instance, there is a general fronting of the /au/-diphthong which results in realisations like *house* [hæʊs] for [haʊs]. Another trait is the lengthening of low back vowels. Thus words like *lost* are pronounced [lɒːst] rather than [lɒst]. There may also be a merger of words like *horse* and *hoarse* under [hoːrs], items which are normally kept apart in urban Irish English outside of Dublin.

A further characteristic of Dublin English is its rhotacism. Unlike England, there is no prestige variety of Irish English which is non-rhotic. The fact that syllable-final /r/ should be maintained so consistently, especially in Dublin English, is not an accident. Lower-class Dublin English is non-rhotic, or only weakly rhotic, as pronunciations like [pʌʊta] for *porter* testify.

In this respect Dublin English is similar to New York. In both cities rhotacism is prestigious as lower class speech lacks syllable-final /r/. Dublin English has, however, departed from the general velarised *r* of the rest of the country (Hickey 1989) and developed a retroflex [ɻ] so that a word like *for* [fɔːɹ] is pronounced as [foːɻ]. This development can be interpreted as a reaction to local Dublin English, in this case by promoting rhoticity, here embodied in /r/-retroflexion, as a contrast to traditional low rhoticity. See section II 2.11 *The New Pronunciation* below.

Apart from such specific features, Dublin English shares typically Irish traits of pronunciation. For instance, it shows the weakening of alveolars in an intervocalic or word-final position: *night* [naɪṱ], *fighting* [faɪṱɪŋ] and also yod-dropping after alveolar sonorants: *news* [nuːz], *neuter* [ˈnuːṱɚ]. However, yod-deletion after non-sonorants, e.g. [stuːpɪd], would be understood as a deliberate imitation of an American accent. These two features do not usually have any significance as social markers, though *t*-lenition is not tolerated if it goes beyond [ṱ], see 1.4 *Features of local Dublin accents* below. They do not normally show stylistic variation and generally enjoy only low awareness with speakers. Equally variables such as (h) and (æ) are not markers of high or low social position, as they frequently are in British English: *h*-dropping is unknown in Irish English and there is no differential use of /æ/ versus /ɑː/, as with Received Pronunciation (RP) *bland* and *glance* for instance, because these vowels are only weakly distinguished. Both are realised as a long low central vowel, [aː]: [blaːnd] and [glaːns] respectively.

The variables (th) and (t) The features of Dublin and Irish English in general which show the highest degree of variation and to which speakers are unusually sensitive are probably those which concern coronal stops (Hickey 1984a). One is dealing here primarily with the sounds in the THIS and THINK lexical sets and their relationship to the alveolars are in words like GET and SAID.

In the main one can say that the dental fricatives of standard English are realised as stops in Irish English. There is general consensus in the relevant literature on why this is the case. The standard wisdom on the subject runs as follows. The Irish who were first confronted with English at the beginning of the early Modern English period (mid 17th century onwards) used for the fricatives of English the nearest equivalents which they had in Irish. These were the dental allophones of the non-palatal stops of Irish (Bliss 1979: 232, Hogan 1927: 71-3). They are termed 'fan' stops in the older literature because the area of contact immediately behind the teeth is relatively large (the contact is laminal rather than apical) and there is a traditional convention of transcribing them with small capitals, e.g. *thin* [ᴛɪn] and *this* [ᴅɪn]. Recall that in Irish, like many of the Slavic languages, above all Russian, there is a systemic distinction between palatal and non-palatal articulation for all consonants (bar /h/ which has a special status). Among the early generations of bilinguals in Ireland an equivalence was established between English dental fricatives and Irish non-palatal stops, the palatal ones being quite distinct in their articulation and their acoustic properties. The alveolar plosives of English were equated with the palatal stops of Irish and in the course of time, with increasing distance from Irish, these were de-palatalised in English.

(7)	Irish		Irish English	
a.	/t, d/ [t̪, d̪]	→	[t̪, d̪] for /θ, ð/	(no alteration)
b.	/tʲ, dʲ/	→	[t, d] for /t, d/	(depalatalisation)

The question of equivalence is quite a complex one with many different aspects to it. However, for the area of coronal stops the explanation just given is accurate.

The realisation of Irish coronal stops as dentals holds for the west and north. In the south-west and south the situation is different as alveolar realisations are found here (Hogan 1927: 72). The alveolar allophones are found too for Deise Irish, roughly coterminous with Co. Waterford in the south-east. The attestations for Irish on the east coast are very poor indeed (O'Rahilly 1932: 260). There are obviously no indigenous Irish-speaking areas on the east (Wagner 1958: xxvii). What one does have, however, is a continuous band of dialects which stretch from Waterford in the south-east up to Dublin and beyond to Drogheda and Dundalk, an area which corresponds to the original settlement area of the first Normans in the late 12th century and the only area in Ireland which can raise any claim to maintaining an unbroken tradition of English from the first period (*c* 1200 - 1600). In the east coast dialects the dental fricatives of English correspond to alveolar stops, both in urban and in rural varieties. This suggests that the alveolarisation which is found in popular Dublin English is an archaic feature which is present in conservative varieties of English outside of Dublin to the east and south.

Turning now to mainstream Dublin English an explanation for the appearance of dental stops corresponding to English /θ, ð/ is required. Assuming that the original situation was one with only alveolar stops in the coronal area one must conclude that at some stage in the development of mainstream Dublin English the initial sounds of the THINK and THIS lexical sets were substituted by dental stops.

There is a plausible source for this which can be found in the history of Dublin in the 19th century. As a result of overpopulation and attendant agricultural depletion at the beginning of the 19th century a general exodus from the countryside set in which was to reach its climax at the middle of the century with the Great Famine of 1845-1848 (Bertz 1975: 41f.). Some Irish counties lost up to one quarter of their population. This was due to emigration and, during the major famine and the minor ones which preceded it, to death by malnutrition and starvation (de Fréine 1965). The emigration was chiefly to England or America, in the latter case frequently via England. The main port of departure for England was Dublin. A consequence of the influx of rural inhabitants, above all from the poorer counties of the west was that at a time when all counties lost population, Dublin actually increased by some 9% (Dudley Edwards 1973: 217ff.). Now allowing for some emigration by Dubliners themselves the increase in population, fed from the rural hinterland was probably in excess of 10% (see the discussion of this fact with regard to syntax in section III 3.1 *The plays of Dion Boucicault*).

The curious fact here is that the incomers from western regions (those hardest hit by famine) would have been those who had, among other features of their speech, dental stops (the fan stops described by Hogan and Bliss and still found in Western Irish, de Bhaldraithe 1945: 25ff.). The speculative conclusion which one could draw from this is that the educated speakers of Dublin adopted the dental pronunciation from incoming migrants from the west. This re-introduced a distinction between words only graphically separated up until then, such as *through* and *true*, formerly both [truː] but, after the introduction of the dental # alveolar distinction, [t̪ruː] and [truː], respectively.

The re-emergence of a distinction between dental and alveolar stops in Dublin English raises the question of whether one is dealing with a genuine case of a reversal of a merger (see the discussion of different examples in Hickey 2004b and Faber and Di Paolo 1995). In the history of English there have been similar instances such as the distinction between *point* and *pint*, *boil* and *bile*, etc. which now exists for most dialects of English but did not always do so. In the latter case the usual assumption is that those varieties which had the merger reversed it by adopting the distinction between /ɔi/ and /ai/ from other varieties. The parallel in Dublin English would be the adoption of the dental – alveolar distinction within the area of coronal stops from the western migrants in Dublin.

However, the matter is more complicated in Irish English than with the low and back diphthongs of English. If one considers both popular Dublin English and rural varieties of the south-west in contemporary Ireland one notices that the allophony of coronal stops differs even where there is a merger.

Recall that *t*-lenition weakens the articulation of a stop in weak positions, i.e. intervocalically and word-finally before a pause.

(8) a. *faith* [fɛːt] b. *fate* [fɛːṱ] ~ [fɛːh]
c. *tin* [tɪn] d. *thin* [tɪn]

In syllable-initial position all coronal stops are alveolar but in weak coda positions these stops (especially the voiceless ones) are reduced to a fricative (cf. *fate* above). However, the stops from the THINK lexical set (cf. *faith* above) do not show this reduction. The conclusion here is that the merger is allophonically incomplete. In such instances the reversal of the partial merger would be easier than in cases where the merger is total. This makes the adoption of a dental allophone for the THINK lexical set by middle-class speakers in Dublin from rural migrants during the 19th century more credible.

In summary a table of the more conspicuous features of mainstream Dublin English is offered below. In addition to the segmental features listed one should also mention that Dublin English shows a number of allegro phenomena (elisions) which occur across words. They may be phonologically non-systemic but they nonetheless contribute to the impression of a slurred pronunciation which the non-Irish sometimes associate with Dublin and Irish English. Some of these reduced pronunciations, such as the frequent greeting *how are you* [ˈhæəɹjə], are almost lexicalised. An example of a generalised feature in this context would be the procope of unstressed syllables, e.g. *'member* [ˈmɛmbɚ] (*remember*), *'mhere* [ˈm̥iɚ] (= *come here*).

Table 1.1 *Salient features of mainstream Dublin English*

dental stops for fricatives	*this* [d̪ɪs], *think* [t̪ɪŋk]
t-lenition	*night* [naɪṱ], *fight* [faɪṱ]
yod-dropping	*news* [nuːz], *neuter* [ˈnuːṱɚ]
/au/-fronting	*house* [hæʊs]
/ɒː/ ~ /oː/-merger	*horse*, *hoarse* [hoːrs] (variable)
/ɒ/-lengthening	*lost* [lɒːst]
low-central /aː/	*bland*, *glance* [blaːnd]
rhotic pronunciation	*for* [fɔːɹ̴] ~ [foːɻ]

1.2 The status of Received Pronunciation

For an anglophone country like Ireland the relationship to other larger English-speaking countries plays a significant role, one which naturally has a linguistic dimension as well. In this connection the question arises whether the less regionally bound varieties of any of these larger countries act as a guideline for the Irish. In practice the only two countries which are involved here are the United States and Britain. There is considerable exposure to forms of English from America in the media, above all through films and pop songs, but whatever accents may be represented here they have no effect on language behaviour in Ireland with the exception of some lexical items which may be adopted.

The situation with Britain is different given the geographical proximity and the close economic and cultural ties which it has with Ireland. This is a complicated issue as the history of Ireland often dictates a sceptical and critical attitude to Britain while contemporary social conditions in Ireland are such that there is much contact with Britain due to Irish people working there. A certain re-orientation of the Irish towards the continent as a result of membership in the European Union has taken place in recent decades. However, linguistically Britain is and will remain Ireland's powerful and dominant next-door-neighbour. Hence the valid question concerning the status of standard forms of British English in Ireland needs to be asked.

It may well be part of the colonial legacy in Ireland that speakers are very sensitive to the danger of being seen to have a thick, boorish Irish accent, particularly because a condescending attitude to the Irish has a considerable tradition in Britain. However, here as in other spheres of life, one notices the ambivalence of the Irish relationship with Britain. On the one hand the Irish do not want to be all too readily regarded by the British (or others) as having an unacceptable accent, on the other hand they would regard it as pandering to the British to adopt an accent approaching Received Pronunciation (RP), see description in Cruttenden (2001).

Hence it is true to say that speakers from the Irish Republic do not emulate RP. Instead the supraregional standard of Dublin origin provides an orientation for the southern middle-class Irish. Certain characteristics of this speech, such as rhotacism, a monophthong in the FACE lexical set Received Pronunciation, centralised /aː/, plosive equivalents to English /θ, ð/ and the frequent retention of /ʍ/ (Hickey 1984b) are so obvious that no possibility of confusion with the southern British standard is possible.

A major reason for the lack of influence of RP on the supraregional standard of the south is the attitude of the population to England and English society. It would not befit any nationalist-minded Irish person to imitate an English accent. Although the vast majority of the Irish speak English as their native language, using an English accent approaching RP is regarded as snobbish, if not to say unpatriotic, and usually evokes derision from one's fellow countrymen. It is this which is scorned as a *grand* [grɑːnd] or *posh* or *lah-di-dah* accent, an outward manifestation of pretentiousness and social condescension. People in Dublin and the east coast who emulate English ways, including an English accent, are scorned as being West Brits.

1.3 The local Dublin speech community

Looking at local Dublin English from a broader perspective one immediately recognises its conservative character. Its salient features are those which were in all probability established in the first period of English in Ireland (before 1200) and it has, generally speaking, survived the later superimposition of more standard forms of English in the last two centuries which eliminated many of the characteristics of middle-class speech in the city.

The conservative profile is in keeping with the notion of network strength (L. Milroy 1980: 49-69) within a closely-knit community which inhibits change. Hence the relative homogeneity of local Dublin English should be seen within the context of shared values in this stratum of society.

Vernacular norms, such as those in local Dublin English, often involve synchronically opaque forms which represent fairly complex variation which is not readily accessible to those outside the community (L. Milroy 1976). Again this reflects the linguistically focussed nature of the local community. For instance, the realisation of historic short vowels before /r/ in local Dublin English is unpredictable for middle-class speakers as seen in the following cases.

(2) *circle* [sɛː(ɹ)kl̩] but *bird* [bʊː(ɹ)d]
Did you see the bird in the white skirt?
[dɪd jə si də bʊː(ɹ)d ɪn də ʍəɪʔ skɛː(ɹ)h]

There is a degree of phonetic predictability here in that short vowels before historic /r/ are retracted after labials and always if /u/ has been the input, hence *word* [wʊː(ɹ)d], *first* [fʊː(ɹ)st], *nurse* [nʊː(ɹ)s], etc., but it is doubtful whether mainstream speakers grasp this distribution. In addition there are a number of exceptions to this phonetic environment, cf. *dirt* [dʊː(ɹ)t] which by the above token should be [dɛː(ɹ)t].

The speech of the middle-classes on the other hand is more indicative of supralocal varieties which tend towards koinés and are simpler in structure than more local varieties because, for the higher social groups, variation no longer shows any in-group function. This could go part of the way in explaining why the merger of short vowels before /r/ was accepted by socially prestigious, but weakly networked groups, which originally did not have the merger (as Sheridan shows for the 18th century, see section III 4.1 *Thomas Sheridan* below) during the later superimposition of standard varieties. Because of the merger of short vowels before tautosyllabic /r/ the distinction is no longer recoverable for supralocal speakers whereas it is an integral part of local speech.

1.4 Features of local Dublin accents

The sound structure of local varieties is quite different from that of more mainstream ones in Dublin as outlined above. For the following sketch, vowels are dealt with at the beginning, followed by consonants with some non-phonological phenomena discussed at the end.

Vowels The clearest traits here are the centralisation of the /ai/ diphthong, the fronting of /au/, the over-long realisation of phonemically long vowels, often with disyllabification as a result, the realisation of historically short vowels before /r/ and that of early modern English short /ʊ/.

(3) Centralisation of /ai/
time [təim]
Fronting of /au/
down [dɛʊn]
Over-long vowels with frequent disyllabification
school [skuːˑl] – [skuːəl] – [skuːwəl]
mean [miːˑn] – [miːən] – [miːjən]
Historically short vowels before /r/
circle [sɛːkl̩], *first* [fʊːs(t)]
Early modern English short /ʊ/
Dublin [dʊblən]

To understand the relationship of the above vowel realisations to those in other varieties of Dublin English it would seem appropriate to juxtapose the vowel systems of the three main variety groups in Dublin English illustrated by lexical sets. The values for the column on the right (new Dublin English) will be discussed in detail presently (see section II 2.11 *The New Pronunciation* below).

		Local DE	Mainstream	New
A	*long vowels*			
	FLEECE	[fliː(jə)s]	[fliːs]	[fliːs]
	FACE	[fɛːs]	[feːs]	[feːs]
	PALM	[pæːm]	[paːm]	[paːm]
	BATH	[bæːt]	[baːt̪]	[baːt̪]
	DANCE	[dæːns]	[daːns]	[daːns]
	THOUGHT	[taːh]	[t̪ɒːṱ]	[t̪ɔːṱ]
	GOAT	[gʌoh]	[goʊṱ]	[gəʊṱ]
	GOOSE	[guː(wə)s]	[guːs]	[guːs]

		Local DE	Mainstream	New
B	*diphthongs*			
	PRICE	[prəɪs]	[praɪs]	[praɪs]
	PRIDE	[prəɪd]	[praɪd]	[praɪs, prɑɪd]
	MOUTH	[mɛʊt]	[mæʊt̪]	[mæʊt̪]
	CHOICE	[tʃaɪs]	[tʃɒɪs]	[tʃɔɪs]

		Local DE	Mainstream	New
C	*rhotacised vowels*			
	START	[staːh]	[stɑːɹṱ]	[stɑɻːṱ]
	NORTH	[naːt]	[nɒɹːt̪]	[noːɻt̪]
	FORCE	[fʌos]	[foːɹs]	[foːɻs]
	NURSE	[nʊːs]	[nəːɹs]	[nəːɻs]
	GIRL	[gɛːl]	[gəːɹl]	[gəːɻl]
	NEAR	[nɪɐ]	[niəɹ]	[niəɻ]
	SQUARE	[skwɛɐ]	[skweəɹ]	[skweəɻ]
	CURE	[kjʊɐ]	[kjuəɹ]	[kjuəɻ]

		Local DE	Mainstream	New
D	*short vowels*			
	KIT	[kɪh]	[kɪṱ]	[kɪṱ]
	DRESS	[d̪ɹɛs]	[dɹɛs]	[dɹɛs]
	TRAP	[t̪ɹæp]	[tɹæp]	[tɹæp]
	LOT	[lah]	[lɒṱ]	[lɔṱ]
	STRUT	[strʊh]	[strʌṱ]	[strʌṱ]
	FOOT	[fʊh]	[fʊṱ]	[fʊṱ]

		Local DE	Mainstream	New
E	*unstressed vowels*			
	COMMA	[ˈkamə]	[ˈkɒmə]	[ˈkɔmə]
	LETTER	[ˈlɛhɐ]	[ˈlɛṱəɹ]	[ˈlɛɾəɻ]
	HAPPY	[ˈhæpi]	[ˈhæpi]	[ˈhæpi]
	HORSES	[haːsəz]	[hɒːɹsəz]	[hoːɻsəz]

Notes

1) Words like *girl* [gɛːl] does not have epenthesis in local Dublin English because the deletion of syllable-final /r/ bleeds the environment for epenthesis. Rural speakers, who have rhotic speech, do have this so their pronunciation is [gɛɹəl]. The epenthesis can be seen in /-lm/ clusters in Dublin English, e.g. *film* [ˈfɪləm].

2) The distribution of [ɛː] versus [ʊː] in local Dublin English would seem to imply that the conditioning is a combination of historical input and phonetic environment. Early Modern English /u/ gives [ʊː] as does /i/ when preceded by a labial, e.g. *turn* [tʊːn] and *first* [fʊːs(t)]. Former /e/, and /i/ when not preceded by a labial, yields [ɛː], hence one has *circle* [sɛːkl̩] and *Ballyfermot* [bæliˈfɛːməh] (suburb of Dublin).

3) Depending on the degree of rhoticity which a local speaker shows, the realisations of centring diphthongs will vary somewhat. If speakers have syllable-final /r/ then a word like *near* is pronounced much as in mainstream Dublin English, i.e. as [niəʴ]. Should the speaker be non-rhotic, then a low central vowel in the region of [ɐ] is found instead.

Consonants In the area of consonants there are equally clear indications of local Dublin English. Some are unique to lower registers and others are extensions of features found in more widespread forms of Dublin English.

Alveolar stop allophones It is safe to assume that the realisation of the initial sounds in the THIS and THINK lexical sets in popular Dublin English as alveolar plosives, [d] and [t] respectively, is not a recent phenomenon (see discussion above). Hogan (1927: 71f.) notes that it is found in the seventeenth century plays (assuming that *t, d* represent [t, d]) and furthermore in the Dublin City Records (from as far back as the 15th century) where the third person singular ending *-th* appears as *-t*. According to Hogan alveolar realisations are common in rural varieties in the south and south-west of Ireland. Here they are probably a contact phenomenon deriving ultimately from the realisation of non-palatal /t, d/ in Irish. Hogan incidentally also remarks on the dental stops which are found in present-day Irish English (*loc. cit.*).

The acoustic sensitivity of the Irish to the shift from dental to alveolar derives not least from the merger which can result from it. To Irish ears the retraction of the dental stops to an alveolar position is immediately noticeable and hence stigmatised as typical of low-prestige speech.

(4)	mainstream speech	local speech
	thinker [t̪ɪŋkɚ], *tinker* [tɪŋkɚ]	*thinker, tinker* [tɪŋkɚ]
	breathe [briːd̪], *breed* [briːd]	*breathe, breed* [briːd]

Cluster reduction The simplification of consonantal syllable codas, particularly of stops after fricatives or sonorants, is a good indicator of local Dublin English. Intermediate registers may have a glottal stop as a trace of the stop in question. This feature has a long history in Dublin English (see comments in section 6 *Medieval Irish English* below). In other varieties in the Republic the tendency is not to delete the stop in this position but to retain it and, if voiced, to devoice it, e.g. *bend* [bɛnt]. The deletion in local Dublin English is particularly common after the sonorants /n/ and /l/ and is also found after /s/.

(5) a. *pound* [pɛʊn(ʔ)]
b. *belt* [bɛl(ʔ)]
c. *last* [læːs(ʔ)]

Further reduction of lenited /t/ The lenition of /t/ cannot be indicated in English orthography but vacillation between *t* and *th* for /t/ is found already in the earliest forms of Irish English (in the *Kildare Poems*, see Hickey 1993: 220f.) and would suggest that it was a feature of English in Ireland in the first period.

The lenition of /t/ – phonetically [t̞], an apico-alveolar fricative – intervocalically or wordfinally/prepausally is not continued in educated Dublin English beyond the initial stage with the exception of one or two lexicalised items such as *Saturday* [ˈsæhɚde]. However, it is precisely the extension beyond the apico-alveolar fricative which is characteristic of popular Dublin English. The sequence is usually as follows:

(6) /t/ [t̞] → [ɹ] → [h] → Ø
motorway [moːt̞ɚwe] [moːɹɚwe] [moːhɚwe] [moː(ɹ)we]

The (ng) *variable* The realisation of the final nasal of the present participle is one of the most common variables in all varieties of English. In this respect Dublin English is no exception with the low-prestige varieties preferring /n/ over /ŋ/.

In the *Discover Dublin English* programme on the accompanying CD-ROM readers can listen to a group of 5 local speakers by choosing *List of all options* in the *File* menu (or just press Ctrl-A) and then choose option (5) *Sound file selection*. These speakers illustrate the local features discussed here. The selection also contains sound files with samples of mainstream and new speech where readers can confirm the vowel values listed in the above tables by listening to the recordings. Option (4) *Extracts from files* contains a number of short extracts (a few seconds) taken from the set of all recordings illustrating particular features from different accents.

1.5 Additional data for local Dublin English

In section I 2 *Collecting data* the nature of the author's own recordings of Dublin English were discussed. In theory a number of additional sources could have been used for examining English in the capital. Old radio and television recordings were consulted inasmuch as this was possible within the restrictions imposed by the national broadcasting corporation of Ireland, RTÉ (Radio Telefís Éireann, 'Irish Radio and Television') on material which they house. For local Dublin English a serendipitous publication of material from over 40 years ago provided a welcome source to check on the recent history of the vernacular in the capital. This material has been examined and evaluated as outlined in the following paragraphs.

In the early 1960s a Dublin schoolteacher, Margaret Cunningham, made recordings of her working-class pupils from inner-city Dublin recounting stories from the Bible. The recordings were made as a learning aid for the children and by a fortuitous set of circumstances the reel-to-reel tape recordings were not destroyed but rediscovered in the 1990s and subsequently published as a CD-ROM. A short documentary film on the matter was also made. The title of the CD-ROM and the film is *Give up yer aul' sins* which echoes a phrase one of the young girls on the recording used in telling a particular story from the life of Jesus. The speech of this girl, which occupies most of the CD-ROM, is taken as the basis for the following discussion.

The title incidentally shows *aul'* [aul], the vernacular pronunciation in Dublin English of *old*. It also contains *yer* [jər], a reduced form of *your*, but distinct from *yeer* [jir], an emphatic form found when the plural contrasts with the singular. Although the speaker's speech is only weakly rhotic (see below), /r/ does occur intervocalically – or in sandhi between vowels – in keeping with the occurrence of the sonorant in present-day local Dublin English (see comments on hiatus /r/ below). The lexis of the present recordings is not remarkable, but some lexicalised pronunciations are to be found which are indicative of conservative Dublin English such the long /uː/ in the word *book* which is not part of mainstream Irish English as the latter tends to have the long vowel only in *cook* nowadays.

Phonological features

1) Weakly rhotic (indicated by superscript [^{ɹ}] in the following), /r/ not usually present in word-final position (instead there is an open low vowel close to [ɐ], e.g. *over* [ˈʌɔvɐ].

2) Differentiation of short vowels before tautosyllabic historic /r/ *deserve* [dəˈzɛː^{ɹ}v], *certainly* [ˈsɛː^{ɹ}tn̩li] but *purse* [pʊː^{ɹ}s], *first* [fʊː^{ɹ}st].

3) Raised TRAP vowel. This is particularly evident before historic /r/: *garden* [gɛː^{ɹ}dn̩].

4) Unrounded LOT and THOUGHT vowels: *there was a lot* [lah] *of them, for forty* [ˈfɑːʴti] *days, important* [ɪmˈpɑːʴn̩t] *days.*

5) Diphthong with low back starting point for GOAT vowel: [ʌɔ] for /oː/ as in *home* [hʌɔm].

6) Lowered realisation of CHOICE diphthong: *They recognised his voice* [vaɪs].

7) Onset for PRICE and PRIDE vowel. This is fairly low and not the centralised or retracted [ə] to be found in present-day Dublin English as in *time* [təɪm]. It is not possible to say if the lack of centralisation with the speaker on the CD-ROM is idiosyncratic or generally indicative of a previous generation which did not have this.

8) THIS and THINK continuously show alveolar stops for the dental stops of mainstream Dublin English.

9) Virtually all instances of final or intervocalic /-t/ are realised by glottal stops: water [wɑːʔɐ]. This glottalisation also extends frequently to /d/, e.g. *head* [hɛʔ].

Phonological processes

1) Shift of unstressed, final /o/ to schwa or /i/: *Lookin' out the window* [wɪndə] . . . ; *This widow* [wɪdə] *was* . . . ; *Follow* [fali] *that star* . . .

2) Vowel rounding after /w/: *When we're* [wœː] *big, we going to* . . . This would seem to be a continuation of a feature already present in the 19th century where [w] has this rounding effect. It is to be found with Boucicault where he writes *wor* 'were' as in . . . *they wor sarched* . . . (see section III 3.1 *The plays of Dion Boucicault* below).

3) Occurrence of hiatus /r/: In keeping with the maintenance of intervocalic /r/ word, /r/ also occurs in sandhi, especially in instances where /t/ is the input: *She got up* [ʃi gɑ-ɹ-ʊp]; *The woman brought her out* [brɑ-ɹ-eʊʔ]; *They made him get up* [de meːd hɪm ge-ɹ-ʊp]; *They has to be put away* [deː hæztə bi pʊ-ɹ-əwe]

4) Dentalisation of /t/ before /r/: *You'd better* [bɛt̪əʴ] *find another way of going home.*

5) Assimilations: *with you* [ˈwɪtʃə], [ŋg] > [mʷ], *made him talk different languages* [ˈlæmʷɪdʒɪz]. /sk/ clusters are regularly reduced: *He asked him* [aːst hɪm].

6) Cliticisation of auxiliaries: *He would have been* [ˈhidə bin] *out in the town.* This would appear to be a very old feature of Dublin English and is shared by conservative varieties of Irish English along the east and south-east coast, e.g. it is attested in Waterford (Hickey 2001a: 15). There is also an unetymological enclitic /ə/ after auxiliary ending in /-d/: *If you had* [ˈhædə] *been here.*

1.6 Markers of local Dublin English

Phonetic It is only to be expected that mainstream speakers in Dublin would avoid the salient features of the popular variety of English in their own city. Such phenomena as post-sonorant deletion do not occur in non-vernacular speech. There is furthermore an active avoidance of stigmatised features of local Dublin English. Examples of this are the alveolar stops in the THIS and THINK lexical sets or the lenition hierarchy of alveolar stops. In Dublin English there is a distinct movement on a scale of vernacularity which for /t/ has at least the following loci when not in the onset of a stressed syllable: [t - ṱ - h,ʔ - Ø]. For mainstream Dublin English lenition up to [ṱ] and the use of [h] in lexicalised examples is quite acceptable but general glottalisation or /t/-deletion is stigmatised. Given this state of affairs a spread of glottalisation as a colloquial feature to Ireland via Dublin is unlikely.

This situation can be contrasted with that for many cities in present-day Britain. For instance, in the context of Cardiff, Mees (1987) and Mees and Collins (1996) point out that the use of a glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ is typical of an orientation away from popular Cardiff English, a development which is diametrically opposed to that in present-day Dublin.

Because glottalisation is a feature of local Dublin English it is not a feature of either colloquial Irish English or of the new pronunciation in Dublin English, indeed its non-existence in the latter offers further evidence of this variety having arisen in reaction to local Dublin English. If it were true that southern British English were exercising an influence on Dublin English then one would expect glottalisation, at least of intervocalic /t/, to appear. Another example of imperviousness to characteristics of supraregional varieties of British English is the persistent rhotacism of Irish English (the question of possible British influence on the rise of the new pronunciation in Dublin English is dealt with in detail in section II 2.12 *Irish, British and American English* below).

Morphological From the area of morphology there is one very clear example of a marker in Dublin English. Consider for a moment the fact that in practically all varieties of Irish English (both in the north and south of the country) the pronominal distinction between second person singular and plural is maintained. In educated southern speech this is realised as *you* (singular) vs. *ye* (plural). Phonetically, the difference is that between [jʊ/jə] and [jɪ]. The vowels in these forms are generally short and are only occasionally lengthened, chiefly for contrastive purposes. Furthermore, in careful speech styles the plural [jɪ] merges with the then uniform [jʊ] *you*.

In popular Dublin English the singular # plural distinction is realised differently. Here the plural marker /-s/ is suffixed to the singular form *you* which results phonetically in [juːz]. Often the base used is *ye*, yielding [jɪz]. Irish English speakers are sensitive to the forms *youse, yees* and stigmatise them as they are characteristic of local Dublin speech although functionally they are equivalent to the supraregional *ye* [jɪ] of the south.

Syntactic The status of non-standard syntactic features in Dublin English varies according to the acceptability of such structures in mainstream varieties. For instance, the use of *after* with the present participle to express an immediate perfective, as in *She is after drinking her tea*, is ubiquitous in all varieties of southern Irish English. On the other hand, the expression of an habitual aspect by means of *do* plus *be* as in *He does be in his office every morning* is immediately classified as non-standard by mainstream speakers.

By and large syntactic features do not have a prominent role to play as markers in Dublin English. Clefting, which in its scope is most likely an inherited feature from Irish, is quite acceptable if not overworked, e.g. *It's to Germany he's gone for his holidays.* The same applies to specifically Irish characteristics such as negated epistemic modals, cf. *He mustn't be interested in politics.*

Some features enjoy a high degree of consciousness and are used jocularly for local flavour but not stigmatised as they are stereotypes rather than genuine low-prestige usage, for instance the use of an unbound reflexive pronoun as subject as in *Himself is sick today* 'The boss/the head/the main person is sick today'.

Lexical On this level one must distinguish between the occurrence of words and specific pronunciations of general items. The latter is illustrated by a word like *Italian* which has the pronunciation [əɪˈtælɪən] in local Dublin English. It is, however, difficult to specify particular lexical items which are markers for local Dublin English and not for any other variety. Colloquial items are plentiful, but are not as clearly bound to Dublin English as are phonological features. For instance, modifiers and expletives such as *aul', fuckin', feckin', effin', bloody, bleedin', whorin', blinkin', flippin'* (Bertz 1987: 49) are clearly common in popular Dublin English but none is exclusively a marker of this variety but rather an indication of a very informal register.

Summary of markers of local Dublin English

Phonetic markers

1) Alveolar stops in THIS and THINK lexical sets
2) Lenition of /t/ beyond [ṱ] to [h,ʔ,Ø]
3) Post-sonorant stop deletion
4) Distinction of short vowels before historic /r/
5) Unrounded LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE vowels
6) Diphthong with low back starting point for GOAT vowel
7) Centralisation of diphthong in PRICE and PRIDE sets

Grammatical markers

1) Suffixal second person plural pronoun forms
youse <*you* + {S} 'you'-PL; *yees* <*ye* + {S} 'you'-PL
2) Habitual with *do be*
She does be worrying about the kids all the time.
3) Overuse of definite article, particularly with *both*
the both of youse
4) Negative concord *He didn't do nothing wrong*
5) Use of /mi/ for *my* (possessive pronoun) and /bi/ for *by*.
6) Reduction of principle parts of verbs from three to two
I seen it; *I done it*; *He hasn't went there*

Features that are not markers, i.e. which are present in more mainstream varieties:

1) *t*-lenition as in *city* [sɪṱi] (but not further to [h,ʔ,Ø])
2) merger of the low-vowels in the TRAP and BATH lexical sets
3) *after* for immediate aspect
They're after crashing the car.
4) *on* plus personal pronoun for relevance
She's ruined the dinner on me.
5) *ye* as second person plural pronoun

2 Recent changes in Dublin English

The present section considers in some detail the changes which have taken place in Dublin English in the past few decades. It opens with a chronology of the changes, inasmuch as this can be ascertained, and then considers the arguments for and against a specific set of shifts in Dublin English which are independent of any outside influence. In several subsections the phonetic nature of the new pronunciation of Dublin English is examined and issues such as gender distribution and its spread beyond the capital are considered.

2.1 Before and after the changes

A comparison of the accents of any non-local Dublin speakers born before approximately 1970 with those of similar speakers born after the early 1970s reveals marked differences. The reason for choosing these dates is that the first group would have been in its teens before the mid or late 1980s and the second group some time after that. These two groups show essential differences in their pronunciation because the first group developed its native pronunciation of mainstream Dublin English before the changes which are the topic of the current section were established. However, the second group were affected in their formative years – for their native accent of Dublin English – by these recent changes.

Table 2.1 *Comparative features of non-local Dubliners by date of birth*

(i) before c. 1970	(ii) after early 1970s
no back vowel raising	considerable back vowel raising
low, central onset for /au/	fronted onset for /au/
non-retroflex /r/	retroflex /r/
alveolar /l/	velarised syllable-final /l/
no T-flapping	variable T-flapping (possibly)
low, central onset for /ai/	possibly retracted onset for /ai/

The realisations in the left-hand column can be recognised easily with the speaker in the sound file `DUB_OldM_2_F.wav` who was about 40 or perhaps slightly younger. She quite clearly has no /au/-fronting and her back vowels are nowhere near as raised as those of the younger informants in any of the recordings, for instance, for *bought* and *walked* she has [bɒːṱ] and [wɒːkt] respectively. Furthermore, she has a non-retroflex /r/ as in *yard* [jaːɹd] and does not have a velarised [ɫ] in syllable-final position, e.g. *field* [fiːld].

The sound files illustrate an aspect of the informants' speech: there is a degree of accent mixing. In the case of the informant just mentioned one can notice that she has a slight retraction of the /ai/ before a following voiced consonant (the preferred environment for retraction). But this is variable, for *outside* she has [autˈsɑɪd] but for *twine* [twaɪn]. Such speakers can be assumed to have picked up the new pronunciation, discussed below, but not for all possible instances in which it could occur. Here one can maintain that the native mode of speech, established by speakers in their early teens, is overlain on occasions with slightly different pronunciations which they have picked up from younger people in their surroundings.

2.2 In the beginning was Dublin 4

The essential question for recent Dublin English is why there is this break during the 1980s? To answer this question one must consider a set of changes which happened with a fairly small group within Dublin in the early 1980s. The group is known from the postal district they were associated with. Here is an extract from a general study of modern Ireland which shows the attitude which was prevalent towards people from this group.

> Dublin 4 is the postal address of one of the more affluent areas of Dublin, and had come, I argued, to epitomise the aspirations of a

> whole new class of Irish people who were sick of everything they understood the old Ireland to be. ... the actual address of Dublin 4 is of secondary importance, but it was not entirely coincidental that both the state's largest university, University College Dublin, and the national broadcasting company, RTE, happened to be located within its geographical province. Both of these institutions had, over the years, become closely identified with efforts to redefine Irish society outside traditional models of Irishness. (Waters 1997: 33f.)

The essential point here is that a new group of Irish people had arisen by the early 1980s who rejected traditional views of Irishness. 'Dublin 4' was used early in the 1980s as a label for those people who regarded themselves as trendy, modern, sophisticated and who rejected older confining views of Irishness. The label 'Dublin 4' was even used as a title for a collection of four long short stories by the popular novelist Maeve Binchy.

In their rejection of older views, the 'Dublin 4' set also developed a mode of pronunciation which was different from local forms of Dublin English. Indeed the original Dublin 4 accent illustrated clearly what one can call *linguistic dissociation* (Hickey 2000c) where speakers change a whole series of features in their speech to make it maximally different from forms they do not want to associate themselves with, in this case those of more conservative and traditional Irish people, especially in Dublin. The entire vowel shift (see discussion below) is a movement away from the very open realisation of back vowels which is typical of local Dublin English (and many forms of southern Irish English).

2.3 *Why 'Dortspeak' failed*

The new accent of the 'Dublin 4' set quickly became noticed and the object of satirical comment. Phrases arose which ridiculed this pronunciation, such as *A glass of Harp in the bar* spoken as [ə glɒːs əv hɒːɹp ɪn d̠ə bɒːr]. The point to be noted here is that the vowel of the PATH lexical set had a retracted and frequently rounded pronunciation.

The name for the 'Dublin 4' accent went through a few changes in the courses of the late 1980s and early 1990s. It came to be abbreviated as a 'D4' accent (a term still found). But the name of the suburban railway known as the *Dart* (an acronym deriving from *Dublin Area Rapid Transport*), a recent development to serve commuters in the southern parts of the city, came to be used for the supposed accent of the people who lived in the southside suburbs. The label *Dartspeak* was coined and found favour among Dubliners. This label was then given a particular pronunciation with a retracted and rounded vowel, i.e. [dɒːɹtspiːk], and came to be written *Dortspeak.* A natural reaction set in and the accent came to be disliked as can be seen in the following extract from a well-known diary column in *The Irish Times.*

> The basis of Dortspeak is the middle-class Irish accent which has now been substantially overlaid by an Anglo-American argot, in which sounds seem to be based on a heroic but largely unsuccessful imitation of the English Home Counties with a very large dollop of American words ...
>
> The written word cannot begin to convey the awfulness of the Dortspeak which seems to have taken over southside middle-class schools (Myers 2000: 64).

The second half of the above quotation emphasises the location and the population group using the Dortspeak accent. The first half is inaccurate but show a typically Irish tendency to blame shameful foreign influences for our woes, in this case linguistic ones. Unfortunately, Myers does not recognise that Dortspeak is a reaction to local accents of English in Dublin (see discussion in 2.10 *More on dissociation* below).

As the 1990s proceeded and Ireland entered a period of unprecedented economic prosperity, Dortspeak became less and less 'trendy' and began to date. Salient features of this pronunciation, such as the retracted /aː/ vowel before /r/, and to some extent the retracted onset for /ai/, were no longer 'cool' and young speakers began to avoid it (Hickey 2003d). But curiously the raising of (non-rhotic) back vowels and, to a lesser extent, the retraction of /ai/ which were also central parts of Dortspeak did survive and are defining elements of the broad-based Dublin vowel shift which is described below. An obvious justification for their survival is that these shifts support the dissociation from local Dublin English which is still a goal of speakers of new Dublin English.

The nearest speaker to an original Dortspeak accent is the person recorded in the sound file `DUB_OlderDublin4_Female.wav`. It is noteworthy that she uses [ɑː] before /r/, e.g. *car* [kɑːɹ] and in general has a rounded realisation of the LOT vowel, e.g. in *bother* [bɒd̠ə]. In the new pronunciation of the 1990s /aː/ before /r/ is central, if not fronted, and the LOT vowel does not necessarily show rounding (this may have been rejected as part of the now unfashionable Dortspeak accent). Furthermore, the speaker on this sound file does not have the /au/ fronting which is ubiquitous among all young speakers of mainstream Dublin English today, i.e. she has *now* [naʊ].

The general rejection of /aː/ before /r/ can be recognised clearly in the pronunciation of *Gardaí* (the Irish police). In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, it was common among television presenters to have [gɑːɹdiː], even [gɒːɹdiː], but this has now been replaced by [gaːɹdiː] with a centralised vowel.

2.4 Demotic developments: the 1990s vowel shift

The new pronunciation which evolved in Dublin undoubtedly received its impetus from the original 'Dublin 4' accent. Having shed the elements which were no longer in fashion a general shift became discernible in the following is labelled the 'Dublin vowel shift'. This is embodied in a pronunciation which had a much broader base and had lost all the connotations of snobbishness and condescending poshness which had come to be associated with the 'Dublin 4' set. By the 1990s the stage was set for a new, more mainstream variety of Dublin English which was to be adopted by all young people growing up in that decade and has remained so since.

In this newer variety the main differences compared to conservative varieties in Dublin concern the realisation of vowels. In essence this externally motivated change involves a retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point and a raising of low back vowels. Specifically, it affects the diphthongs in the PRIDE and CHOICE lexical sets and the monophthong in the CAUGHT lexical set.

Dublin vowel shift, principal movements

a) retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point
time [taɪm] → [tɑɪm]
toy [tɒɪ] → [tɔɪ], [toɪ]

b) a raising of low back vowels
caught [kɒːṱ] → [kɔːṱ], [koːṱ]

			oɪ	oː
			↑	↑
Raising			ɔɪ	ɔː
			↑	↑
			ɒɪ	ɒː
Retraction	aɪ	→	ɑɪ	

In the *Discover Dublin English* programme on the accompanying CD-ROM there are a number of recordings with speakers who show the vowel shift in their speech quite clearly. These can be found under option (5) *Sound file selection* (accessible via *List of all options* in the *File* menu). The speakers are grouped under the heading 'The New Pronunciation'. There are also small snippets of vowel realisations in option (4) *Extracts from files* which contains a number of short extracts (a few seconds each). In the Java version of the software, the third branch. labelled *Dublin English – recordings*, has a node called *Sound files in tables* where the same files can be listened to by clicking on an appropriate heading.

The vowels not contained in the above table are uncontroversial in Dublin English and have no sociolinguistic significance. For instance, the short front vowels in the KIT and DRESS lexical sets show no variation. The corresponding long vowels, FLEECE and FACE respectively, generally have the same realisation in all varieties, except perhaps for breaking with FLEECE [fliːʲəs] – as with the vowel in GOOSE [guːʲəs] – in local Dublin English.

The segmentability of sound continua Before delving into a detailed discussions of vowel shifts it is necessary to address an issue which is important for sociolinguistic investigations. This concerns the segmentability of the sound stream as perceived by the linguist (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 20, Docherty, Foulkes, J. Milroy, L. Milroy and Walshaw 1997; Tollfree 1999). For the purpose of discussion the linguist makes binary distinctions in a sound continuum and the question arises whether this is justified from the point of view of the speakers' phonological system. Because there are no mergers in the Dublin vowel shift, except the coalescence of the NORTH – FORCE lexical sets, one can assume that for the lexical representations of words, the speakers who show the shift and those of conservative mainstream Dublin English share the same set of distinctions. For instance, the distinctiveness of the THOUGHT and the GOAT lexical sets is maintained although the realisations are very different among different groups.

When describing the shift, however, it is not the system of phonological distinctions which is central, but the minute differences in realisations as these document the movements in vowel space which comprise the shift. For the discussions below, the trajectories of vowel realisations are normally dealt with by positing two points, one of which represents a more conservative mainstream realisation and one a more advanced one, typical of new Dublin English. On occasions, for instance, when dealing with R-retroflexion and GOAT diphthongisation, a tertiary division is made. But even this represents a simplification of phonetic reality, something which can be confirmed quite easily by listening to the many sound files on the CD-ROM. Nonetheless, in order to have a discussion which can be easily grasped by the reader, binary or tertiary divisions with phonetic symbols are used. This is not supposed to pre-empt any decision on how speakers handle phonetic production. The whole notion of segments as representations of the unconscious phonological knowledge of speakers may be false anyway. An example of this can be seen with the relative shortening of long vowels and the use of retroflex /r/, as in [koˑɻk] versus [kɒːɹk] for *Cork*. This is obviously a scalar phenomenon where the divisions into a binary set is not part of the speakers' perceptions. Obviously no sets of speakers regard [ɻ] and [ɹ] as separate systemic entities. It might well be more realistic to speak of an articulatory gesture (Browman and Goldstein 1992) which produces an apico-alveolar continuant. This gesture may involve a variable degree of apical curvature, higher degrees being used by younger, non-local speakers and lower degrees by older, mainstream speakers. This type of description can handle retroflexion as a cline with different speakers located at different points, or possibly one and the same speaker moving along the cline either at one point in time or through time in the development of his/her accent.

The only drawback with this type of description is that it is cumbersome when discussing many different matters for large number of speakers. As a device, segmental representation can be used to describe speakers' phonological behaviour without crucially implying psychological reality to it. As a convenient visual means of representation, segments in brackets have their uses. In this book, by using segments no theoretical statements are being made about the cognitive representation of phonological distinctions on the part of speakers.

2.5 Details of the vowel shift

The variable (ai) in Irish English When examining this key variable in Dublin, the first point to note is that a conservative pronunciation of (ai) is maintained in local speech as [əɪ]. There is historical documentation of this realisation which is particularly revealing as it shows that it was typical of the middle classes in late 18th century Ireland. For instance, Fanny Burney (1752-1840), in her reminiscences of famous individuals she knew, imitates the Irish accent of the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816) by referring to his pronunciation of *kind* as [kəind], indicated orthographically as *koind*. This pronunciation seems to have become part of the stereotype of an Irish accent and authors such as Kipling used the *oi* spelling to indicate this as in *woild*

Oirland. Incidentally, an interpretation of *oi* as [ɔɪ] for (ai) is highly unlikely to be accurate as this realisation is nowhere to be found in Ireland, north or south, in rural or urban varieties.

The supraregional variety of the south has for (ai) a diphthong which has a low mid or low front starting point, i.e. either [aɪ] or [æɪ]. This realisation tallies with that in many varieties of Irish, although the position in Irish is of no relevance to the Dublin vowel shift. What is significant here is that a non-central starting point – [aɪ, æɪ] – is the commonest one for non-regional varieties of Irish English. This pronunciation would seem either to have developed independently in the capital or to have been adopted from the large influx of rural speakers from the west, most of whom would have had the [aɪ] realisation. Recall that in the latter half of the 19th century, at a time when the population of Ireland sank by several millions, that of Dublin actually increased by almost 10%.

If one now considers local Dublin English one finds that its realisation for (ai) as [əɪ] is quite stigmatised in Dublin. One can maintain that the greater the phonetic separation of middle class Dublin English from more local forms in the capital grew, the more the corresponding forms of the lower social classes became stigmatised. For middle class Dubliners the [aɪ, æɪ] pronunciations sufficiently delimit them from local Dublin English. But originally in the 'Dublin 4' accent, and latterly in more general forms of new Dublin English, a back starting-point came to be used for this diphthong, i.e. a word like *style* has not the pronunciation [staɪɫ] but rather [stɑɪɫ]. This retracted starting-point is particularly noticeable before /l/ (which is velarised in many forms of Dublin English) so that the name of the country is realised as [ɑɪɹɫənd] rather than [aɪɹɫənd].

Distribution of the shift The fact that the Dublin vowel shift is not that old offers the opportunity to observe a change in its early stages and provides evidence for how a change begins to spread through the variety in which it occurs. In this connection it is relevant to consider the distribution of the segments affected.

The most noticeable aspect of the shift is that is does not always apply to all possible inputs as can be seen from the following words with (ai).

(1) a. *rice* [raɪs] *rise* [rɑɪz]
b. *tight* [taɪṱ] *tide* [tɑɪḓ]
c. *life* [laɪf] *lives* [lɑɪvz]

The generalisation here is that retraction to [ɑɪ] preferentially occurs before voiced segments. This makes phonetic sense: the retracted onset of the diphthong requires that the tongue travel a slightly longer distance from a rest position than for the unshifted realisation [aɪ] and that the jaw muscles relax somewhat. In this respect the restrictions on the diphthong shift are similar to those on diphthong realisation in Canadian English, commonly known as Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973). Here a centralised onset is used for the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ before voiceless segments, before voiced ones an onset in the region of /a/ is found.

(2) Canadian Raising *house* [həʊs]
houses [hauzɪz]

This distribution shows that the Canadian phenomenon is not an instance of raising but rather of vowel lowering (from /ə/ to /a/) before voiced segments, i.e. the tongue can travel from a central to a low position before those segments which are relatively lax phonetically.

The argumentation used here is phonetic and would appear to offer the best chance of accounting for apparent counter-examples to the distribution assumed. Thus many speakers have the shift in words like *crisis* [krɑɪsɪz] /krai.sɪz/. On closer consideration the explanation would seem to be that the shift is found before voiced segments and in open syllables. This also accounts for its occurrence in final position, e.g. in *bye* [bɑɪ] and *July* [dʒuːlɑɪ] as well as in isolated instances where /ai/ occurs before a voiceless segment in a closed syllable but in a strongly stressed position at the end of a phrase, e.g. in *Your man is so nice* [ˈnɑɪs]. Stress positioning plays a further role: the shift is not always in evidence in unstressed syllables or those with secondary stress because of their inherent phonetic shortness.

(3) a. *headline* [ˈhɛdlaɪn]
b. *nationwide* [ˈneːʃənˌwaɪd]

It is difficult to predict whether this distribution will remain typical for the Dublin vowel shift. It may very well be that it is only characteristic of an initial phase and that the shift will spread to all instances of /ai/, masking the present distribution. Or it may freeze at this stage, as has been the case with Canadian Raising. And of course the shift may peter out and an unretracted [aɪ] pronunciation may be re-instated for all instances of the diphthong.

The comments just made apply to the data collected for the project *Change in Dublin English* between 1994 and 1998, most of the data stemming from the first two years of the project. Sound recordings made for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (and contained on the accompanying CD-ROM) seem to suggest that the distribution according to voice with the following consonant is recessive. Some older speakers with onset retraction may well have it for all instances of (ai), irrespective of voice. For speakers who have picked up the shift in later years – after the formative period for their own native mode – the differential distribution may still apply. But it would seem that for speakers now under the age of 25, onset retraction with (ai) is not characteristic, although these speakers show the raising of back vowels, that other part of the Dublin vowel shift, to a high degree.

General shift of low vowels Irrespective of the situation with (ai) there is a general raising of low vowels in newer varieties of Dublin English when compared to more conservative realisations as in the following instances.

(4) a. *boy* /ɔɪ/ → [bɒɪ]
b. *pot* /ɒ/ → [pɑt̪̭]
c. *law* /ɔː/ → [lɒː]

Compared to these traditional values, all these vowels show raising in the vowel shift. The degree of raising depends on the age of the speaker and in general the extent to which he/she engages in the new pronunciation.

(5) a. *boy* /ɔɪ/ → [bɔɪ]
b. *pot* /ɒ/ → [pɒt̪̭]
c. *law* /ɔː/ → [lɔː]

The realisations vary here, as is only expected in a situation where the shift is still taking place, see the section on pushing the vowel shift below.

The long mid back vowel One vowel has not been listed here, the long mid back vowel in the GOAT lexical set. To appreciate realisations in present-day Dublin English one must bear in mind that traditionally this vowel was a long monophthong, that is the pronunciation would have been [goːt̪̭]. This monophthong can be assumed to be the original pronunciation of mainstream Dublin English. It accords with the generally conservative nature of English in the Irish capital, which has been cut off from more recent developments in British

English, hence the long vowel in the SOFT lexical set, for instance, where the later shortening found in southern British English did not take place.

Support for the assumption of an original [oː] in the GOAT lexical set comes from two very diverse sources. The first is formed by varieties of Irish English in the west and south-west where, even among supraregional speakers, [oː] is the realisation of this vowel. The second source is a set of recordings of famous poets reading their works produced by the British Library in 2003. The CD-ROM contains, among many other items, a recording of W. B. Yeats reading his own poem *The Lake Isle of Innisfree*. Yeats was a middle-class Protestant from Dublin and it is fair to assume that he would have spoken mainstream Dublin English from the end of the 19th century. In the recording he has a very clear [oː], without a trace of diphthongisation, for words from the GOAT lexical set, e.g. *go* [goː], *slow* [sloː]. Yeats furthermore has no MOUTH-fronting, e.g. *now* is [nau], and no trace of /ai/-retraction, e.g. *nine* is [naɪn] for him.

In the course of the 20th century this monophthong underwent a slight diphthongisation to [oʊ] bringing it more in line with other anglophone varieties and for conservative mainstream speakers of Irish English the realisation is similar to that found in general varieties of American English. However slight this diphthongisation has been, it is important to register it because within the Dublin vowel shift, this vowel has been pushed along a path of further diphthongisation and not raised along a path starting from [oː]. If the latter had happened then the GOAT vowel could have intruded on the phonological space of the GOOSE vowel. But in fact it was further diphthongised from [oʊ] to [əʊ]. This may look at first sight like the adoption of an RP pronunciation but it has an internal motivation stemming from the raising of the THOUGHT vowel as part of the Dublin vowel shift.

Adaptive change The discussion of movements in vowel space given in the previous section should not lead one to think that the Dublin vowel shift is an adaptive change, initiated in order to achieve a more optimal distribution of elements in vowel space. The change is apparently motivated by external factors but the course it has taken has in part been dictated by the maintenance of systemic distinctions in vowel space as outlined above.

In general one should warn against perception or production factors as being responsible for change. For instance, the sound pairs /t̪, d̪/ and /t, d/ require a higher degree of perceptual attention than do /θ, ð/ and /t, d/ and still they are found in supraregional Irish English and show no signs of disappearing. Nor is there any indication of the dental stops merging – in syllable-initial position – with the fricatives of standard English.

Relative chronology Given the lack of work on Dublin English it is difficult to pinpoint when the vowel shift began. The use of central rhotic vowels for historic long mid vowels before /r/ (in words like *care* [kɚː], *pear* [pɚː]) has been a feature for a few decades. But this is not part of the shift and can hardly be seen as a precursor of the later development. Equally the occurrence of a long vowel in the SOFT lexical set, e.g. in *lost* [lɒːst], is an inherited feature of Dublin English and not part of the vowel shift. The merger of the NORTH and FORCE lexical sets under /oː/, as in *morning* [moːɻnɪŋ] (see the rather loose set of comments in Wells 1982: 418-28), is virtually universal with speakers who now show the vowel shift but this is just a corollary of the vowel raising and not part of its mechanism.

Wells (1982: 426) mentions that there is an educated Dublin variant of the /ai/ vowel [ɑɪ]. He refers to Bertz who sees this realisation as typical of Dublin. But Bertz has no inkling of the Dublin vowel shift and does not attempt any systematic distinction between local Dublin English and new Dublin English despite his long taxonomies of every conceivable vowel quality which he thinks he has heard in Dublin. The remarks by Bertz stem from research carried out in the early 1970s and those of Wells from work in the late 1970s (publication dates are 1976, 1987 and 1982 respectively) so that the value of their fleeting comments lies in the apparent existence of retracted realisations of /ai/ twenty years ago. The reports are tantalisingly slight so that it is difficult to say whether the Dublin vowel shift had started by the 1970s. Certainly by the mid to late 1980s when the present author began his own scrutiny of Dublin English the shift had reached perceptible proportions with a definite patterning and distribution.

There is a further reason for rejecting too early a dating, apart perhaps from its going unrecognised. This is that its distribution is scant among middle-aged or older speakers in present-day Dublin. If these were exposed to it in their youth then it would be reasonable to assume that they would retain it. Furthermore, many speakers of middle age and onwards have the vowel shift in lexical keywords and not with the general distribution one would expect if they were active participants in the vowel shift. For instance, among the author's recordings, a number of speakers over 40 had the vowel shift in *Irish* and *Ireland* but not in the numerals *five* and *nine* or other common words with /ai/ + voiced consonant.

2.6 Arguments for and against the shift

Is there a shift at all? One could now consider for a moment the arguments against the Dublin vowel shift: it could be maintained that all one has is a gradual approximation to more standard forms of southern British English due to the strong influence of England on Ireland through travel and the media. This looks like the simplest and most convenient explanation for developments in Dublin. After all there is a lexical influence on Irish English, in the use of many buzz-words, e.g. from the sphere of technology, and in recent semantic shifts such as the use of *joy* in the sense of *success*. However, the imitation view can be dismantled very quickly. Bear the following facts concerning the Dublin vowel shift in mind.

1) If British influence was making itself felt, then one would expect other features to be adopted, such as /ɑː/ in the BATH lexical set. But this is not the case. Words of the DANCE lexical set have [aː], i.e. [daːns]. Indeed the low back realisation is used by the Irish to ridicule a plummy British accent by referring to someone as having ‘a [gɹɑːnd] accent’ (although the RP form of the word is [grænd]). The normal Irish pronunciation is [gɹaːnd] with a low central vowel.

2) There is no tendency in Irish English to drop syllable-final /r/. If British English influence was operative then one would expect non-rhotacism to be spreading into new Dublin speech.

3) Again if southern British influence were operative in Dublin, one would expect a generalised retraction of /ai/ to [ɑɪ]. But the retraction tends to show a phonetically determined distribution: only before voiced segments and in open syllables.

4) Lastly, many Irish involved in the shift push it further than the retracted vowel values typical of general southern British English. There are speakers who have, say, [əˈnɔɪ] and others who have [əˈnoɪ] for *annoy*. This point is of theoretical significance and leads to the next matter to be considered.

Propagation of the shift For the analysis of the current changes an essential premise is made here: speakers are unconsciously aware of minute phonetic shifts taking place in the language around them and they themselves partake in such changes. Furthermore, speakers recognise unconsciously the direction in which a change is moving and can thus force the change beyond its current stage. For instance, if a speaker intuitively grasps that back vowels are being raised then he/she can actively participate in this process, e.g., by raising /ɑ/ beyond /ɔ/ to /o/. In order to do this of course speakers must first of all realise that there exist gradations along a cline of pronunciations. The awareness of such a spectrum arises from exposure to variation in the community of which speakers are members and by their noticing the relative frequency and the conditions of occurrence (situation, speaker group, etc.) of sets of pronunciations. They build up an awareness of variation and change which is part and parcel of their knowledge of their native language.

Assuming unconscious awareness accounts for the non-random nature of change. It sees speakers as aware of the direction in which their language is moving. And of course they can participate in this movement without verbalising their linguistic behaviour for themselves or others.

Pushing the vowel shift Speakers of new Dublin English would seem to recognise the trajectory on which the vowel shift is located even though their own personal realisation of key vowels may not be at the most innovative end of this track. Furthermore, this accounts for why young speakers are seen to push the vowel shift. The trajectory for the shift is unconsciously recognised by speakers and they can shift their range of realisations in the direction of innovation, in this case backwards and upwards.

This assumption of speakers' unconscious perception of the sound shift has one great advantage for the linguist grappling with the mechanism of the change. It releases him/her from the necessity of imputing to the language a knowledge of the drift of things in Dublin English. Of course it is a convenient abstraction to talk of 'Dublin English' as if it were an independently existing entity, to reify it so to speak. But this is just a convenience as we tend to conceptualise phenomena, which we recognise as belonging together, as parallel to objects in the physical world as when we talk of the state, society, etc.

As mentioned above, the vowel shift in the capital has gained a certain momentum and is moving beyond height values which are found in southern British English for corresponding vowels. This is particularly clear with the diphthong /ɔɪ/.

(6) [ɒɪ] → [ɔɪ] → [oɪ]
boys [boɪz], *noise* [noɪz]

Downward percolation A change rarely remains restricted to one layer in a society. For the Dublin vowel shift a phenomenon can be observed, albeit embryonically, among local varieties of Dublin English. This is what can be termed 'downward percolation'. It denotes the adoption of the shift by speakers who would not normally show it as they have come to realise that it is typical of more prestigious speech in the city, for instance, in pronunciations like *style* [stɑɪɫ], *time* [tɑɪm], *mild* [mɑɪɫd]. If this happens on a broad scale, the ultimate fate of the shift is then uncertain. What has started as a feature unique to speakers of new Dublin English may well spread vertically in the city and lose some of its significance as a delimiting factor vis à vis the local section of the capital's speech community.

2.7 *Phonological interpretation*

Vowel shifts and vowel space The Dublin vowel shift can be seen to be taking place within a constellation of vowel values which have been affected by the re-shuffling of the initial shift, most probably the retraction of /ai/ and the raising of low back vowels. There is historical support for the notion of vowel space, in the movements which constitute the English vowel shift, known as the Great Vowel Shift, as has been discussed exhaustively (see Lass 1976 for a summary of the main arguments). Recall that the articulatory positions for many vowels conflict with the traditional vowel quadrangle used in phonetics, the vowel /e/ is slightly higher than /u/, /i/ much more so, while /o/ and /ɔ/ are on the same level, the latter somewhat more forward than the former (Lass 1984: 119). However, from an acoustic point of view there is more justification for the vowel quadrangle. If one plots the first formant on a vertical axis against the difference between the second and first formant on a horizontal axis then the result looks reasonably like a vowel quadrangle (again see Lass 1984: 120f.), above all the correspondences in height seem to be what historical changes and synchronic alternations would lead one to expect, e.g., /e/ and /o/ are on the same level, which is in accord with umlaut rules like that of modern German (*Sohn* 'son' – *Söhne* 'sons') which is a fronting rule with no other change in the parameters for the vowel affected.

Where can low vowels go? One can say that if there is a shift in the onset of the (ai) diphthong then one of three situations occurs as indicated in the following table.

Table 2.2 *Possible shifts for (ai) onset*

1)	centralisation	/ai/	→	/əi/
2)	fronting	/ai/	→	/ɛi/
3)	retraction	/ai/	→	/ɑi/

It is not possible to predict what track will be taken. Retraction of diphthongs and of low vowels in general is well attested. There is the retraction of /aː/ and raising of low back vowels with West Germanic /ɑː/ which travelled on a back track in English but on a front one in German and Scottish English, e.g. Old English *hām* /hɑːm/ > RP *home* /həʊm/ from earlier /hoːm/ but Scottish /hem/ and Modern German *Heim* /haim/ from earlier /heim/.

Furthermore, there may be a change in direction within a short period of time. If the observations on /æ/ in RP for the 20th century are correct (Bauer 1994: 120f., 1985) then RP would seem to have gone through a raising phase at the beginning of the century and in the post-war period to have been subject to a tendency to lowering (going on evidence from Jones and Ward on the one hand and from Wells, Gimson and Bauer on the other).

The vowel constellations in Dublin English and the shifts taking place at the moment show that there is no necessary correlation between the short and long low monophthongs /a/ and /aː/ and the starting point of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. These happen to be more or less the same in conservative mainstream varieties, but this is not true for local and new forms of Dublin English.

The low monophthongs show no noticeable difference on a front-back axis, except that there is a retracted conditioned allophone before /r/ as in *card* [kɑːɹd] in many mainstream accents. In local Dublin English, if anything, there is a fronting of /aː/ especially before /r/ as in *He parked the car* [hɪ pæːkdə kæː]. This in fact runs counter to the statistically more usual retracted realisations of long /aː/, for instance in most European languages, with the notable exceptions of Hungarian and Dutch. Educated speakers avoid such a fronted variant for the phonemically long low vowel, i.e. a tense, somewhat raised realisation such as [læːs(t)] would be less acceptable than [laːst] for *last* in mainstream Dublin English.

2.8 Participants in the vowel shift

Who is involved in the vowel shift? All the remarks so far have concerned the linguistic behaviour of Dubliners, seeing as how it is their sound shift, so to speak. But in a country as capital-city oriented as the Republic of Ireland the question must be asked to what extent speakers outside of Dublin are affected by changes in the English of the capital. The behaviour of speakers from other urban centres outside of Dublin – Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, etc. – is particularly relevant to the issue at hand. There is a strong tendency on the part of urban dwellers outside Dublin to imitate features of the capital city.

To handle the contrast of capital-city and other speakers descriptively a distinction, for which there would appear to be justification, seems necessary, that between motivated and detached participants in a sound change.

Motivated participants Motivated participants are those who are taking part in the shift in order to hive themselves off from speakers of local Dublin English. Their behaviour provides the reason for the shift and predecessors of this group initiated of the shift.

Detached participants The second group is that of detached participants. They can be characterised as those speakers who have realised that there is a shift taking place but for a different motivation have decided to participate. Their motivation is secondary: it is to associate with the initiating group of speakers, and not, in the case of the Dublin vowel shift, to separate themselves from local Dubliners in their speech. They are at one remove from the initiating group as they do not share their motivation for participation. It is a moot point whether detached participants are by definition outside of the geographical area where a change is taking place. For instance, those Dubliners who do not share the desire for local dissociation from the active group and are hence not among the motivated participants may nonetheless be affected by the change. The speaker to be heard in the sound file `DUB_OldM_2_F.wav` could be an example of someone for whom this is true.

It is important to stress that the detached participants are reacting to a shift which has already been initiated, that is they have not started it. Furthermore, the prototypical detached participant is an adult, i.e. an individual well beyond the formative period for his/her native mode of speech. However, it may be that the children among the detached participants (here: the urbanites outside of Dublin) are innovative themselves as they show vowel realisations which are frequently in the range of those of advanced motivated speakers (here: non-local Dubliners). What may very well be the case is that the children have a better grasp of the thrust of the shift and, as opposed to the adults who perceive it in a lexically diffusional manner, recognise the trajectories of the shifting vowels and can thus push them further than the adults from whom they have picked up the change.

The distinction between groups of participants is important in itself but it is of further significance with respect to the linguistic manifestation of the shift which they display.

2.9 Propagation of sound change

Neogrammarian advance and lexical diffusion The Neogrammarian advance of a sound change implies that any input which matches the structural description for the change is affected, i.e. the change is phonetically gradual and lexically universal. In the present case this means that all instances of /ai/ are retracted and all instances of low vowels are raised. If this were the entire story then there would be no exceptions: we would have the much discussed *Ausnahmslosigkeit* 'exceptionlessness'. This is not quite the case, however, as there is the question of phonetic recalcitrance with potential input to a change.

Phonetic recalcitrance This acts as a brake on Neogrammarian advance. If the input to a change has some feature which acts against the change then the input form is recalcitrant.

It would seem to be a frequent occurrence that a sound change in its initial period affects those segments which phonetically present a most natural input, or put the other way around, those words where some phonetic aspect would militate against a change are affected last, if at all. A good example of this is the 17th century lowering and unrounding of southern British English /ʊ/ to /ʌ/. This did not occur in those words where the following segment had inherent lip rounding (a feature in common with /ʊ/), e.g. *pull*, *bull*, *push*, *bush* versus *pun*, *bun* where the [ʃ] and the [ɫ] prevented the shift. The change later lost momentum and subsequent shortenings of /ʊ/ as in *took*, *cook* did not undergo it.

With reference to the Dublin vowel shift the cases of phonetic recalcitrance are those where /ai/ occurred before a voiceless segment. Because of its fortis quality a somewhat shorter preceding vowel results: the tongue has less time to move down and back to the position for [ɑɪ].

Essentially the lexical diffusion hypothesis claims that a change starts with some words and spreads to others, encompassing the entire vocabulary of a language, given the important proviso that the change does not lose momentum, i.e. that it is carried through along an S-curve to 100%. With the lexical diffusion model, a question arises which is not of relevance with the Neogrammarian model, i.e. what words are affected and if there is any generalisation which can be made as to those which first undergo the change, that is how does the change progress through the lexicon?

Different participants and progress of change There is something like a standard wisdom on the occurrence of Neogrammarian advance versus lexical diffusion. Labov (1981: 304) maintains that 'low-level output rules' typically show gradual change across the board (Neogrammarian advance) whereas 'changes across subsystems', for instance, long to short vowels, proceeds by a process of lexical diffusion. The latter contention would seem to be upheld by the many vowel shortenings in the history of English, for instance, that of /ɛː/ before alveolars as in *head*, *dead* and the later shortening of /oː/, again before alveolars (*blood*, *flood*), and still later that of /uː/ before velars (*look*, *took*, *cook*). These are all instances of lexical diffusion as they have not encompassed every possible input.

The question is whether Neogrammarian advance always applies to Labov's 'low-level output rules'. The level being referring to here is that of phonetic realisation. For a sound change in progress this is probably the only level which can be examined as a change in progress will not have reached phonological stability.

The investigation of the Dublin vowel shift suggests that motivated participants – non-local Dubliners – display the Neogrammarian advance for the shift whereas detached participants – socially conscious urbanites from outside Dublin – exhibit lexical diffusion.

With the group of detached participants the first word to show the Dublin vowel shift was *Ireland* and its derivative *Irish*. This was almost a test case, a keyword, for those speakers who were beginning to participate in the shift. The word does not belong to the core vocabulary of the language like parts of the body or verbs denoting basic activities or states. But in an Irish context it stands to reason that the name of the country and its people, as it has a vowel which is a potential input to the vowel shift, is something of a keyword for the adoption of a change. The keyword view of lexical diffusion is closely linked to the notion of salience of certain words. Often the words are used as carrier forms for a characteristic pronunciation of a group. In this respect one could cite the high back /ʊ/ of local Dublin English which is frequently used, particularly in colloquial registers, when pronouncing the name of the city, i.e. as [dʊblən] by speakers who normally have [dʌblən].

The process of lexical diffusion for the diphthong shift among detached participants can be taken to apply to keywords and particularly common lexical items, for instance: the keywords *Irish* and *Ireland*, the numerals *five* and *nine*, various commonly occurring adjectives like *wild*, *mild*, *kind*; nouns like *time*, *mind*, *side*; verbs like *rise*, *drive*, *hide*, etc.

Types, tokens and lexical diffusion The lexical diffusion model implies furthermore that not only does a certain change – a new vowel value – spread gradually through the lexicon of the variety/language affected, but also that not all *tokens* of a given *type* (lexeme) exhibit the new pronunciation immediately. This is clear in the group of detached participants and, if the author's observations on the Dublin vowel shift are correct, it would seem that the older members of this group show the new pronunciation for given lexemes only for a percentage of tokens, e.g. the realisation [ɑɪɹlənd] rather than [aɪɹlənd] is found with only some tokens of the country's name. Any situation like this with co-variants occurring alternatively implies that there is external conditioning on their occurrence. The circumstances for the use of the retracted diphthong in Irish English is something which is certainly sensitive to social factors in discourse settings.

Lexical diffusion and detached participants From the observations made above the question arises as to why lexical diffusion (Chen and Wang 1975; Wang 1969) is typical of detached participants. The answer lies in the lack of motivation. For urbanites outside Dublin there is no reason to use a different realisation from that which they acquired natively, i.e. [aɪ] for (ai). Hence they do not grasp the motivation among their metropolitan counterparts actively involved in the shift. They adopt the shift as they are confronted with it in words of high salience (*Ireland* and *Irish*) and/or high statistical frequency (numerals, common adjectives, nouns, verbs, etc.).

How long are there two types of propagation? It goes without saying that a vowel shift must pass a perception threshold before it will be noticed by non-participants and these then become detached participants if the conditions are right – as they have been in urban centres outside Dublin vis-à-vis the capital.

The distinction in the course of a sound change – Neogrammarian advance or lexical diffusion – would appear to hold most clearly while the shift is taking place. Furthermore, depending on such aspects as the quantitative relationship of motivated participants to detached participants the latter may be marginalised by the former and the shift takes place fully. Or the level of exposure may lead to detached participants adopting an ever increasing number of words with the new pronunciation and this may eventually lead to the demise for them of their old pronunciation as it does not survive anywhere in their lexicon. Both these situations would mask the stage of lexical diffusion and make the sound change appear to have proceeded by Neogrammarian advance.

The termination problem An issue remains to be addressed in connection with the current changes, namely what is called the *termination problem*. It really involves two questions. The first is: when is lexical diffusion complete? The answer is simple: when there is no instance of the original sound value left, e.g. the shortening of English long /u:/ is terminated when there is no instance of it left, though new ones may later arise, just as new instances of long /a:/ arose in early modern English due to lengthening before voiceless fricatives and before /r/, prior to this being lost.

The second question is when is a change, which is taking place by Neogrammarian advance, complete? The answer here is that there is no termination point. All one may have is a stage at which the segments which have been shifting cease to move. There may be an endpoint where change is leading to phonemic merger, i.e. where instances of one sound are coalescing with those of another, as when ME /ɛ:/ coalesced with /e:/ is words like *eat, seat, meat* (later shifted to /i:/). In such cases segments can be seen to cross a phonological threshold, i.e. a pronunciation is assigned to one phoneme as opposed to another. This is particularly clear when phonemic contrast either arises or is lost.

But when the new pronunciation is moving towards a value not already present in the phonological system of the variety concerned – as is the case with the [ɑɪ] of the Dublin vowel shift in its early stages – then there is no given endpoint. It is too soon to say what will happen to the Dublin vowel shift. For its continuation the behaviour of the motivated participants in the change is most important. Assuming that the unarticulated goal of these speakers is to evolve a form of speech phonetically distinct from that of local Dublin English, then that goal is all but reached. The shift has created new allophones such as [ɔɪ] and [oɪ] for former [ɒɪ]. There are no threatening mergers so that there is no system-internal pressure to continue on a shift cycle and to re-align phonemic oppositions which might be under threat at the moment.

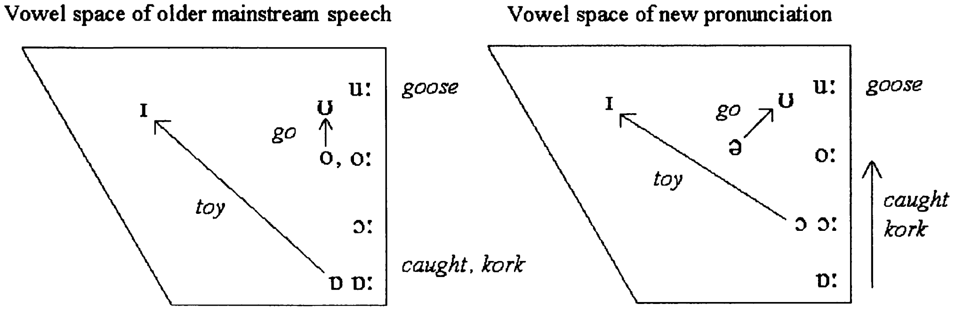
The present situation is one in which the change could simply fizzle out – the firework type of sound change. If this happens now or in the near future then a situation like that in Canadian English may be the result: phonetically recalcitrant examples – /ai/ before voiceless segments – may not be retracted while the same item before voiced sounds is. On the other hand the change may continue and regularise the allophony of the segments involved. For instance, the speaker in the sound file `DUB_DVS_1_M.wav` has the same vowel value for PRICE and PRIDE (in the sample sentences *The price has gone up again. They're the pride of the nation*). This is a young speaker around 20 years of age. The female speaker (about the same age) in `DUB_DVS_1_F.wav` does have a distinction with [praɪs] for PRICE and [prɑɪd] for PRIDE.

There are also external factors operating here, above all the association of retracted /ai/ with the now dated 'Dublin 4' accent which means that speakers may abandon the retracted pronunciation of /ai/ altogether as seems to have already happened for many speakers in the early 2000s.

A change in progress? At the time of writing (summer 2004) it is not possible to say if the Dublin vowel shift has stabilised completely. Certainly, the raising of back vowels has been carried forward by advanced speakers so that certain older values, such as [ɒː] in the THOUGHT lexical set, do not exist for these individuals anymore. However, there is no evidence of phonemic merger through the raising of these vowels, if one excludes the merger of the NORTH and FORCE lexical sets which have merged in many other varieties of English anyway.

The vowel in the GOAT lexical set has adopted a strongly diphthongal value, e.g. *go* [gəʊ]. This has meant for speakers with this realisation that they have moved away from the traditional values which show either a monophthong or only a slightly diphthongised vowel, i.e. either [goː] or [goʊ]. There is no is thus no pressure on the phonological space of the GOOSE lexical set. The realisation here is quite far forward anyway, *goose* [guː˖s]. The diphthong used in the GOAT lexical set has quite a high onset, *go* [gəʊ], and so is also separate from the much lower and retracted onset for local Dublin English, [gʌo].

Changes in vowel constellations in Dublin English


Vowel space of older mainstream speech
Vowel space of new pronunciation
ɪ
ʊ
uː
go
o, oː
toy
ɔː
ɒ ɒː
goose
caught, kork
ɪ
go
ʊ
ə
uː
oː
toy
ɔ ɔː
ɒː
goose
caught
kork

2.10 More on dissociation

The notion of dissociation is diametrically opposed to accommodation, the approximation of individuals to the speech of their interlocutors. The latter is taken to be – and have been – a powerful force in dialect differentiation as pointed out by sociolinguists repeatedly, above all by Peter Trudgill (see the discussions in Trudgill 1986). Dissociation gains support for its status by the existence of accommodation. In both instances one is dealing with an alteration in the speech of a community in contact with another. With both dissociation and accommodation there is change, the issue which separates them is that of direction. If the alteration can move in one direction, i.e. towards the second community with accommodation, then it is fairly likely that it can go in the opposite direction, unless there is some objection in principle to this occurring. There would not appear to be any predisposition towards unidirectionality as there is with language-internal developmental clines. Furthermore, the phenomenon of dissociation is generally attested socially, for instance in dress, food, leisure time activities, area of residence just to mention a few typical parameters of social variation. If one assumes that sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with non-linguistic social behaviour then the existence of dissociation in other social spheres outside of language gives support to the assumption of its existence on a linguistic level, i.e. support to the notion of a movement away from one's interlocutors on the level of language.

As has been mentioned at several points above, the shifts to be found new Dublin accents can be interpreted as motivated by dissociation. There are also a number of less salient or less widespread features which nonetheless support the arguments for an interpretation of the changes as linguistic dissociation.

Table 2.3 *Additional avoidance strategies vis à vis local Dublin English*

a) Local DE has a distinction between historic back and front short vowels before /r/, in the NURSE and TERM lexical sets, [nʊː(ɹ)s] and [tɛː(ɹ)m] respectively. But because the open front realisation is so typical of local DE, there is an occasional migration in new DE of historically front *long* vowels to the central rhotic type as seen in words from the SQUARE lexical set like *carefully* [ˈkɚːfəli] and *daring* [ˈdɚːɪŋ]. This realisation has no precedent in the history of Dublin English.

b) The local back rounded vowel /ʊ/ in the STRUT lexical set is replaced by an unrounded front vowel which is almost /ɪ/, as in *Sunday* [sɪ-nde].

c) Subphonemic short vowels are used for long vowels thus contrasting directly with local Dublin English which has overlong vowels in many cases, contrast new *bought* [bɔˑt̪] with local *bought* [bɑːh, bɑːˑ].

The merger in (a) of the SQUARE and NURSE merger lexical sets is very rare and is generally rejected by most recent young speakers of new Dublin English (there are very few examples in the recordings – for example the sound files `DUB_Churchtown_F_20_W_(3).wav` and `DUB_Terenure_F_20_(3).wav` where *parents* is close to [ˈpəːɹənts] and *fair* also has a rather central vowel [fəːɹ]. However, as this centralisation of the SQUARE vowel leads to considerable homophony this shift was probably avoided.

Comparison with dialect levelling

For scholars who have not concerned themselves with the issue of dissociation a frequent reaction is to regard it as a case of dialect levelling. However, dissociative change is quiet different. Dialect levelling involves the adoption of supra-local variants over more strongly localised variants in a speech community. This would appear to be the dominant type of change for urban speech in England (to the exclusion of Scotland and Ireland) as, for instance, reported in the many contributions contained in Foulkes and Docherty (eds, 1999). The reasons for this are well-known, including high social mobility, the increase in middle-class professions where people live a distance from where they work and where neighbourhood ties are weak. These are also aspects of modern life in Ireland but there are differences which have favoured the appearance of dissociation. Ireland is a country with a strong centralised orientation towards the capital Dublin. Here the social differences are vertical, the city encompasses people of all classes with a general split between a poorer and less prestigious north-side and a more prosperous and residentially desirable southside of the city (see section I 2.4 *Results of the data collection* above for details). But there are significant differences between Dublin and major urban centres in England. On the one hand, the English standard of RP or an accent approaching it, does not apply to Ireland, that is approximation to RP is not an option available to Dubliners looking for some non-local accent (see discussion of local versus non-local rather than standard versus non-standard in Foulkes and Docherty (eds, 1999:16). On the other hand, the density of population in Dublin is more concentrated than in other cities in England, except perhaps London, Tyneside, the Birmingham or Merseyside areas. Within the confines of the city of Dublin one has both a unique urban dialect with distinct phonetic contours and a level in society consisting of individuals partaking in the considerable affluence of the present-day city. In this setting, dialect levelling to the supra-regional standard of the Republic of Ireland (which itself stems from earlier middle-class Dublin usage) would appear not to have been sufficient for new, young urbanites in Dublin.

Dissociation as a type of language change

Because the reasons for dissociation lie in the (linguistic) reaction of one group to another it is obvious that it has an external trigger. From the present-day example of Dublin English one can probably conclude that initially dissociation takes place in a weak-tie, non-focussed group reacting to another with strong ties and a clear linguistic focus. Clarity of linguistic profile would seem to be a pre-condition for another group to begin the process of dissociation in the first place. It is this clarity which renders the other group clearly identifiable and this then leads to a desire on the part of others not to be associated with the group so easily recognisable in its speech. Despite its obvious motivation – dissociation would appear to be an unconscious process. There have been no comments by non-linguists on this process (at least within the context of Dublin English). In fact the very unconscious nature of dissociation promotes regularity. After all, if a process is conscious then speakers can make decisions about whether to partake in it or not and various non-linguistic notions and attitudes can interfere with the operation of the process.

The dissociation in contemporary Dublin English is particularly marked with respect to those features of the low-status variety which are stigmatised. The question of stigmatisation is a complicated one and it is difficult to find simple criteria for determining how and when a feature becomes stigmatised.

On the phonological level there are characteristics of stigmatised sounds which can be recognised. For instance, any sound which represents a merger with another is liable to become the object of sociolinguistic censure if the merger does not apply to higher-status varieties in the same society. In Dublin English the merger of dental and alveolar stops to alveolar positions, as in the THINK and TWO lexical sets, both with initial /t-/, is highly stigmatised. An example of a vocalic merger concerns the vowel in the STRUT lexical set which is realised in popular Dublin English as /ʊ/ with homophony in word pairs like *put* and *putt*. A feature might be salient because it stands in sharp phonetic contrast with the same feature in a supraregional variety. This is certainly the case in popular Dublin English which has [əɪ], as in *ripe* [ɹəɪp] for the [aɪ] of the supraregional variety, including more conservative middle-class accents in Dublin. Other characteristics of stigmatised features would be their systemic unusualness as with the occurrence of front rounded vowels in English, e.g. in a pronunciation of *bird* as [bøːd] (for a more detailed discussion of stigmatisation, see Hickey, 2000a).

Returning now to the social groups active in present-day Dublin one can say that the dissociating group is typically diffuse, i.e. one is dealing with a reaction by a non-local group to a strongly local one. The cohesion of the latter is not matched by any comparable social bonding on the part of the dissociating group. Of course the diffuseness of the reacting group may change. If the means chosen to achieve dissociation form a clear pattern of (sound) shifts then this clarity may in turn bestow a new and distinct profile on the reacting group. But in the present-day Dublin setting the dissociating group seems to be an incoherent one reacting to strongly localised forms of language. As so often with language change, there is an individual and collective aspect to the subject of dissociation. There is an obvious sense in which dissociation occurs on an individual level, as a natural process between generations. It has been reported that members of one generation show realisations of sounds in their variety which are opposed to those of the preceding generation, especially that of their parents (Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1994). This type of reaction does not necessarily lead to a community-wide linguistic change, probably because the numbers of young people dissociating themselves from the language of their parents at any given time does not reach a critical mass for the dissociation to become a linguistic change in the community. Furthermore, on the individual level there is probably too much variation – with dissociation as in other respects – for this to be co-ordinated into an item of language change in the community.

There is another reason why dissociation as an observable feature in a variety as a whole does not just consist of the replication of individual instances. Dissociation which leads to a change in an entire variety would appear – going on the evidence from present-day Dublin English – to be a reaction by speakers to another group in their surroundings, typically in a metropolitan setting. The instances in a whole variety are not the multiplication of dissociation between generations but the reaction by one group, however diffuse, to another with obvious linguistic characteristics.

Once a variety, which has arisen on the basis of dissociation, has become established, young people who are developing their native mode of speech may not be aware of the original motivation. For them the new variety is desirable because spoken by peers they associate with and hence they adopt it. However, in a city like Dublin, where low-prestige vernacular speech is ever present, the motivation for the new variety is never lost sight of.

A further case of dissociation: The raising and lowering of /æ/

If one considers the histories of varieties of English for which there is considerable documentation then examples can be found where diachronic developments seem not just to have been arrested but the trajectory for the change to have been reversed. A recent case would seem to be the tendency in the early 20th century for speakers of RP to produce a raised realisation of the /æ/ vowel which has, if anything, been reversed so that a pronunciation closer to /a/ is to be found (Bauer 1994: 110-21).

In the history of Irish English a similar process has been observed. Certainly by the late eighteenth century in Dublin English a raised variant of the TRAP vowel (after velars) was present as noted by Thomas Sheridan in his remarks on how the Irish speak English (Sheridan 1781: 144) and as seen in his rendering of *gather* as *gether* and *catch* as *cetch*. This raising is not insignificant in the history of English in England as evidenced by *ketch* (a double-masted yacht, probably related to *catch*) and *keg* (from Middle English *cag*, itself from Old Norse *kaggi*) and of course by the standard pronunciations of *many* and *any* with an /e/ vowel. A similar raising would seem to have applied to low back vowels in certain environments. Sheridan remarks that words like *psalm, qualm, balm* are pronounced as if written *psawm, quawm, bawm* (Sheridan 1781: 141).

(8) a. Raising of /æ/ after velars, *gather* → *gether*
b. Retraction and raising of /aː/ before /m/, *calm* → [kɔːm]

At some time during the 19th century in Ireland there must have been a reaction to this raising with a reversal of the tendency so that by the beginning of the 20th century a much lower realisation of the TRAP vowel and of the PALM vowel had become characteristic of supraregional forms of English in Dublin and Ireland in general.

One possible interpretation of this situation is that the raising mentioned by Sheridan became salient for speakers and that they began avoiding it. Typically, this could have happened as a form of inter-generational dissociation, i.e. children recognising that raising was a feature of their parents' speech started to avoid it, reversing the trend and leading to low and unrounded realisations of /æ/ and /aː/.

This type of development could be termed 'ebb and flow' (Hickey 2002d) because it can lead to shifts going backwards and forwards rather than following a trajectory in a single direction throughout the history of a variety.

2.11 The New Pronunciation

There can be little doubt that the spread of features of new Dublin English has accelerated considerably in the past few years. Whereas for studies by the present author in the mid 1990s a pattern of lexical diffusion of the current shifts – as outlined above – was much more common (Hickey 1998), in the few years (2000-2002) during systematic collection for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* this sporadic distribution has become recessive and a general adoption of new Dublin English features is presently widespread with the younger population as will now be explained.

Apparent time study of Dublin English shows that female speakers over 30 do not always, and those over 40 rarely, have the features which are so indicative of new Dublin English. In the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* nearly all females under 25, whose self-image appeared to be one of urban modernity, showed the new pronunciation. This has become so widespread over the entire south of Ireland that for the author, when he was collecting the data for the sound atlas, it became a purely academic exercise to ask a young female Dubliner to read the sample sentences used as a basis for collecting the data. The pronunciation used was that outlined below. Because the key features of this accent of English can be easily classified and, more importantly, because these tend to occur as a group of innovative features, they will be referred to collectively as the *New Pronunciation* of southern Irish English. The use of capital letters is intended to stress the fact that we are dealing here with a fairly unified, structural re-alignment of the entire accent of southern Irish English and not just one or two minor changes in pronunciation.

'Youth norms'

The high occurrence of the New Pronunciation among young people in present-day Ireland can be partly explained by interpreting the features in question as indicative of the current youth subculture (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 162, Kerswill and Williams 2000) which is recognisably different from that of contemporary parents, although contained within it. In all such subcultures there are 'youth norms'. The linguistic aspects here would include certain features which are diagnostic of young speech and delimited from that of older members of a community. These features are embedded, however, in a general accent context which can still be clearly recognised as that of the previous generation. Translated into present-day Irish terms, this would mean that the speech of the young generation, who have adopted the New Pronunciation, is delimited vis à vis the speech of their parents' generation but is still recognisably located within the framework of Irish accents. This fact is confirmed by non-linguistic commentators who maintain that, although they (falsely) see the source of the New Pronunciation in an imitation of prestige British English accents, it is nonetheless separate from the latter and not likely to be confused with it.

Nine features of the New Pronunciation

The New Pronunciation of Dublin English, and by extension of younger generation, supraregional Irish English in the south, involves above all the realisation of vowels and of the liquids /l/ and /r/. Other segments do not seem to be affected by the shift in pronunciation. Specifically, the complex area of coronal segments (Hickey 1984a) has not been altered to any significant extent. However, two points should be emphasised in this context:

(1) the dental stop realisations of the THINK and THIS lexical sets, which have been part of the supraregional variety of English in the south of Ireland, are maintained in the New Pronunciation. There may, however, be speakers who use [θ] and [ð] as part of a reading style, particularly in post-stress position, e.g. in word-final position like *path* [pa:θ] (this can be heard repeatedly on the sound files). It is also curious to note that TV presenters and newscasters in Ireland try to use the dental fricatives consistently, with varying degrees of success, however.

(2) among young female speakers, especially in Dublin, there is a slight affrication of /t/ and /d/ in syllable-initial position. This may be an age-graded phenomenon which disappears with full adulthood. It is certainly sub-phonemic at the present. However, it is notoriously difficult to predict the

course of such developments. After all, the lenition of alveolar stops in positions of high sonority, which in the history of Irish English led to the weakening of intervocalic and wordfinal/prepausal /t/ being realised as a fricative, probably started in a similar sub-phonemic fashion.

1) PRIDE-*retraction*

In mainstream Dublin English the diphthong /ai/ is still realised as [aɪ]. But for younger speakers with the vowel shift this diphthong can have a retracted onset as in [ɑɪ]. The exact pronunciation varies here. The retraction is greatest before /l/ as this tends to be velarised (see below). Thus words like *mild, wild, pile, file* are likely to show [ɑɪ].

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Retracted realisation of AI /_ [+voice]
`DUB_AI-Retraction_1.wav; DUB_AI-Retraction_2.wav`
Fully retracted realisation of AI in all environments
`DUB_AI-Dublin4_1.wav`

2) *Back vowel raising*

This is the feature of the vowel shift which currently shows the greatest dynamism. The vowels in the THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets show very considerable raising with advanced speakers to values close to [oː] and [oɪ] respectively. The non-rhotic long low vowels in the BATH and DANCE lexical sets are not affected by this raising. The realisation in both cases is always [aː] in Irish English, even [æː] in new Dublin English. A retraction to [ɑː] would be seen as an adoption of an English accent and has always been regarded as unacceptable for the native Irish. Probably for this reason it has not been participating in the general retraction and raising of the Dublin vowel shift.

When comparing the New Pronunciation with conservative mainstream Dublin English it is remarkable that a merger has occurred, the lack of which has hitherto been a prominent feature of Irish English. This is the *for/four*-merger – of vowels in the NORTH and FORCE lexical sets (Wells 1982: 234-7) – where the formerly distinct vowels /ɒː/ and /oː/ have collapsed due to the raising of the former to [ɔː] and then to [oː], its realisation in new Dublin English today.

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Raised realisation in CHOICE set
`DUB_Raising-CHOICE.wav`
Raised realisation in THOUGHT set
`DUB_THOUGHT_Raised_1.wav; DUB_THOUGHT_Raised_2.wav`

3) GOAT-*diphthongisation*

As mentioned at the end of section II 2.9 *Propagation of sound change* above, the vowel in the GOAT lexical set has developed into a diphthong with a considerably centralised onset in new Dublin English, i.e. *go* is now [go˖ʊ] or [gəʊ] at its most advanced (see section II 2.15 *The gender issue* below). This realisation is similar to that found in southern British English but the reason for its development does not have to lie in an imitation of this accent. The raising of back vowels, specifically of that in the THOUGHT lexical set would have put pressure in phonological space so that the GOAT vowel, which was already slightly diphthongised as [goʊṱ] in mainstream varieties, was diphthongised even further (see the chart at the end of section 2.9 *Propagation of sound change* above). This prevented any possibility of merger with the raised THOUGHT vowel, which for many speakers is already raised beyond the value in southern British English, i.e. *thought* is [t̪ɔː˔ṱ].

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Diphthong in GOAT set
`DUB_GOAT-Diphthong_1.wav; DUB_GOAT-Diphthong_2.wav`

4) MOUTH-*fronting*

In Dublin English, and indeed in traditional east-coast varieties of Irish English in general (Hickey 2001a), the vowel in the MOUTH lexical set has a front starting point, [æ] or [ɛ]. A realisation as [au] is found in more conservative Dublin speech. In rural areas it is traditionally typical of the south-west and west of Ireland. The fronted onset of the /au/ diphthong has not been the subject of sociolinguistic censure in Dublin and so has migrated into the New Pronunciation where it is regular for words of the MOUTH lexical set. This fronting was not present to any significant degree in the original ‘Dublin 4’ accent.

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

MOUTH-Fronting
`DUB_AU-Fronting_1.wav; DUB_AU-Fronting_2.wav`

5) SOFT-*lengthening*

Here one is again dealing with a traditional feature of Dublin English. The vowel of the LOT lexical set, when it occurs before a voiceless fricative, is lengthened (this was originally the case in British English but was later reversed, Wells 1982: 136). This in its turn is in keeping with the general Early Modern English lengthening of /aː/ before such fricatives as seen in words like *staff, pass, path* in southern British English (Wells 1982: 203-6). In conservative mainstream Irish English SOFT-lengthening (to use a cover term with a typical word involving this lengthening) is not found, e.g. *cross* is [krɑs], but again because it is present in new Dublin English, it is spreading to the rest of the country. The long vowel is found in general when the LOT vowel occurs before what in British English is a fricative, i.e. [θ]. All varieties of Irish English would seem to have [ɒː] or [ɑː] in the words *cloth* and *broth*.

Relevant recording on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Lengthening of vowel in SOFT set
`DUB_SOFT-LongVowel.wav`

6) *R-retroflexion*

Traditionally, the realisation of /r/ in southern Irish English is as a velarised alveolar continuant, a pronunciation found in western and south-western varieties of Irish to this day and so it can be assumed that this type of /r/ resulted in Irish English from transfer of the Irish realisation of the same phoneme (Hickey 1986a). In Northern Ireland, a retroflex /r/ is to be found, a parallel with Scotland, probably the source for this realisation through the many Lowland Scots settlers in the north.

In current new Dublin English a retroflex /r/ is also to be found, though definitely independently of the occurrence in Northern Ireland as varieties of English there have played no role in the shaping of the speech of non-local, young Dubliners. Dissociation from local Dublin English can again be assumed here. As the latter is only weakly rhotic, an increase in rhoticity serves the purpose of dissociation. In terms of perception, a retroflex [ɻ], which gives a ‘perky’ rhotic flavour to all vowels, represents a maximum of rhoticity, hence a clear contrast to the minimal rhoticity of local accents.

In conservative varieties along the east coast there has been a uvular [ʁ] which occurred at least from Co Waterford in the south-east to Co Louth in the extreme north of Leinster. This is probably a very old realisation typical of very early varieties of English, probably from the first period (before 1600). In *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* the uvular [ʁ] is clearly attested for several speakers (from Drogheda for example). There is a popular perception that the uvular [ʁ] is characteristic of Waterford (Ó Muirithe 1996a: 120f.) and indeed the author did know one individual (an elderly male) who had this feature, but during the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* not a single instance was found. For present-day Dublin English, however, this realisation is little more than a curiosity.

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

High rhoticity of new Dublin English
`DUB_HighRhoticity-new.wav`
`DUB_NORTH_Raised_1.wav; DUB_NORTH_Raised_2.wav`

7) *L-velarisation*

One of the sample sentences used for the recordings of *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* was *There's a gap in the field*. The reason for this was to check the pronunciation of syllable-final /l/. Traditionally, Irish English has an alveolar [l] in all syllable positions. A velarised [ɫ] is really only a feature of contact Irish English, i.e. of the English of native speakers of Irish. However, the recordings for young female speakers with the New Pronunciation show a definite velarisation of /l/ in this position: [fiːᵊɫd]. The occurrence of this in new varieties of Dublin English is probably due to the low salience of velarised [ɫ] so that speakers did not dissociate themselves from this feature of local Dublin English. It has spread from new Dublin English to the rest of the country and is now typical of young people's speech.

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Velarised [ɫ] in Dublin English
`DUB_Velarised-L_1.wav; DUB_Velarised-L_2.wav`

8) *T-flapping*

This is a variable feature and a recent phenomenon found with the informants around 20 years of age in the recordings of Dublin English. The feature has already spread outside of Dublin and can be found in such prominent items as the name of the city *Waterford* [ˈwɔːɾɚfɚd] for the traditional [ˈwɒːṱɚfɚd]. The flap only occurs intervocalically or, by sandhi, in a word ending in /t/ and followed by another beginning with a vowel.

The variability of this feature can be recognised quite clearly on the recordings. For instance, the speaker in the sound file `DUB_YoungNew_1_F.wav` is a Dublin female of about 20 years of age with very clear realisations of new pronunciation features, e.g. [ɔː] in the THOUGHT lexical set and [ɛʊ] in the MOUTH set. Nonetheless, she wavers between [ṱ] and [ɾ] having *letter* [lɛɾɚ] but *water* [wɔːṱɚ]. She does, though, have [ɾ] in sandhi environments, e.g. *They bought a kit* [bɔːɾ ə kɪʔ].

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Flap realisation of intervocalic T
`DUB_T-IntervocalicTap_1.wav; DUB_T-IntervocalicTap_2.wav`

9) *Sub-phonemic vowel shortening*

If one listens to the speech of the non-local young speakers and that of speakers over 30 in the recordings on the accompanying CD-ROM one notices that the younger speakers have somewhat shorted realisations of phonemically long vowels, especially of the vowels in the THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE lexical sets. This gives a slightly clipped impression to their speech. Although no phonemic realignment has taken place here, i.e. the long vowels have not migrated into the phonological space of the short ones, the feature is acoustically prominent among younger informants. When combined with /r/ the long vowels are phonetically quite short so that there is a great phonetic difference between the more open and longer realisation of older speakers, e.g. *Cork* [kɒːɹk] and the shorter, closed and retroflex realisation of younger speakers, especially females, as in *Cork* [koˑɻk]. Although lay-speakers cannot formulate this in linguistic terms there is much adverse comment on the shortened retroflex realisations of phonemically long rhotacised vowels as in the *Cork* example.

Relevant recordings on CD-ROM (option *Extracts from files*)

Sub-phonemic shortening of back vowels
`DUB_ShortBackVowels_1.wav; DUB_ShortBackVowels_2.wav`

2.12 *Irish, British and American English*

When discussing the rise of the New Pronunciation of Irish English one might be tempted to see it as something which is due to an increasing influence of British and/or American English, on more recent forms of Dublin English (this is a frequent popular perception of the changes, see section II 2.4 *Demotic developments: the 1990s vowel shift* above). However, this is definitely not the case in any systematic way. Indeed it is doubtful that either form of English has had or has any significant influence on Irish English, north or south. There may well be parallels with either American or British English (see discussion below). However, these would appear to be coincidental and for each parallel which may be found, there are internal reasons within the existing forms of Dublin English which can account adequately for their occurrence. Nonetheless, the parallels are listed and remarked upon below.

Parallels with American English

1) *Use of retroflex /r/* Among major varieties of English, American English is known for its use of a retroflex [ɻ] in its standard form. Locations in Britain which also show this realisation are the south-west of England (traditionally) and large parts of Scotland.

2) *Use of intervocalic alveolar flap* Among the allophones of /t/ in intervocalic position in the New Pronunciation is a flap as in many forms of American English. This was produced by many young female speakers in the test sentence *There's a letter for you today* [... ˈlɛɾɚ ...]. In conservative mainstream Irish English the realisation here would be as a fricative, [ˈlɛṱɚ]. In local Dublin English a glottal stop or /-h-/ would be found: [ˈlɛʔɐ], [ˈlɛhɐ].

3) For/four-*merger* For those speakers with the New Pronunciation, either directly from the Dublin vowel shift or by dissemination from the capital, the vowels in the words *for* and *four* have merged. This is true of many forms of English, not just American English (which is of course rhotic), but for all non-rhotic varieties, as in the Southern Hemisphere as well.

Despite the above parallels, there can be no question of young Irish speakers adopting anything like an American pronunciation of English. There are many obvious differences, such as the lack of unrounding with the vowel in the LOT lexical set or the realisations of alveolar/dental consonants. Furthermore, the type of yod dropping (Wells 1982: 206-8) after alveolars so typical of American English, i.e. a pronunciation like *student* [ˈstuːdənt], is definitely un-Irish.

Parallels with British English

When one considers British English within the context of Irish English, the first point to note is that the former is not something which is regarded as worthy of emulation by the Irish, and certainly not in the form of RP. Quite the opposite is the case: for any Irish person to imitate an English accent is to make themselves ridiculous in front of his/her Irish compatriots.

There is also an imperviousness in Ireland to many sociolinguistic features of British urban speech, for instance the loss of initial /h-/ as in *hurry* [ʌɹɪ], glottalisation of intervocalic /t/ as in *butter* [ˈbʌʔɚ] retraction of the BATH vowel as in *pass* [pɑːs] or TH-fronting as in *think* [fɪŋk].

1) *Velarisation of syllable-final /l/* The velarised [ɫ] of the New Pronunciation has a clear parallel in southern British English though it is unrelated to this. The vocalisation of [ɫ] which is so often found in colloquial forms of English – as in *milk* [mɪʊk] (Wells 1982: 258f.) – in the south-east of Britain has no counterpart in Irish English.

2) PRIDE-*retraction* The realisation of /ai/ as [ɑɪ] is paralleled by the same pronunciation in many forms of southern British English. There the comparison must end. In new Dublin English there was, and to a large extent still is, a phonetically determined distribution whereby /ai/ is only retracted before voiced consonants, i.e. in the PRIDE but not in the PRICE lexical set.

3) *Back vowel raising* The raised articulation of low back vowels is also an established feature of southern British English and is part of a very long-term shift in long vowel values which commenced in late Middle English. However, the raising of back vowels in Irish English is not an historical continuation of an older process but a reaction to existing open vowel values in popular Dublin English.

4) MOUTH-*fronting* The fronting is not so much a parallel with RP as with vernacular forms of English, especially in London and the Home Counties. In Ireland this is a feature of Dublin English which non-local speakers did not dissociate themselves from. Hence it has become a feature of the New Pronunciation (see above).

2.13 Uncontentious features in Dublin English

The discussion in this chapter has understandably been about the innovations in present-day Dublin English. But there are a number of features in recent accents which are uncontentious as they are shared by more mainstream varieties. In this section those will be discussed which both mainstream and new Dublin English share with each other but not necessarily or only coincidentally with standard varieties of English outside of Ireland. For instance, there is no point discussing the realisation of /p/ and /b/ as these are the virtually the same everywhere in the anglophone world. The position of the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ is quite different.

In all forms of southern Irish English /t/, and often /d/, have fricative realisations in positions of high sonority, i.e. intervocalically or word-finally after a vowel and before a pause as in *cat* [kæt̞]. This is a clear delimiting feature between Irish English and other forms of English but within Ireland it does not vary between varieties. The further lenition of /t/ to /h, ʔ/ or Ø is, however, stigmatised in mainstream and new Dublin English as this is indicative of local accents (see section II 1.4 *Features of local Dublin accents* above).

In the following a group of features are discussed which vary across the different accents of Dublin English. For the following tables the 26 sets of sample sentences contained in the folder `\DE_Data\Selection` on the CD-ROM were examined. These file consists of representative speakers from the much larger group of 313 sound files (in the folder `\DE_Data\SoundFiles`). It is assumed that the result achieved here could be duplicated for the entire set of sound files.

Yod deletion

In Irish English this deletion is confined to sonorants, specifically to /n/ and /l/ (never after alveolar stops). It is virtually universal in words like *lute, lukewarm* (as it is for many varieties of English). To all intents and purposes the deletion which is of interest is that of yod after /n/ and before a stressed vowel. For example, the word *new* can be pronounced as [nuː] rather than [njuː]. This is a feature of very low salience and is never commented on by Irish people. In the recordings of the accompanying CD-ROM one can see that speakers of all varieties – local, mainstream, new – have both values, consider the following table.

Table 2.4 *Distribution of yod deletion among Dublin English speakers*

Test sentence: *They bought a new bath last week.*

1) *new* = [njuː], n = 13

`DUB_YoungNew_1_F.wav`
`DUB_DVS(Moderate)_1_F.wav`
`DUB_DVS_1_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_1_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_3_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_4_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_5_M.wav`
`DUB_OldM_1_F.wav`
`DUB_OldM_2_F.wav`
`DUB_YoungMainstream_F.wav`
`DUB_YoungRefined_F.wav`
`DUB_YoungRefined_M.wav`
`DUB_OlderDublin4_F.wav`

2) *new* = [nuː], n = 13

`DUB_DVS(Moderate)_1_M.wav`
`DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_M.wav`
`DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_F.wav`
`DUB_DVS(Moderate)_3_F.wav`
`DUB_DVS_1_F.wav`
`DUB_Local(Moderate)_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_2_M.wav`
`DUB_OldM_slight_NewF_3_F.wav`
`DUB_OldM_some_NewF_4_F.wav`
`DUB_YoungMainstream_1_M.wav`
`DUB_YoungMainstream_2_M.wav`
`DUB_YoungSlangy_1_F.wav`
`DUB_YoungSlangy_2_F.wav`

What is interesting here is that the majority of local speakers do not have yod deletion. The deletion with many mainstream speakers can be accounted for by this fact and because yod deletion is regular in mainstream varieties of Irish English in general. As *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* attests, speakers from the west and south-west of Ireland nearly always have yod deletion. A contact interpretation of Irish English phonology can account quite easily for this: the use of /j/ after /n/ would imply for an Irish speaker that the /n/ was a palatal phoneme, i.e. /n^j/. But during the language shift Irish speakers used the non-palatal phoneme realisations as equivalents to English sounds, this accounts for the alveolar /l/ which was hitherto so common in Irish English. The occurrence of yod after /n/ in local Dublin English can be seen as a conservative feature of

English in the capital which it inherited from the initial input to the east coast before 1600.

WHICH-voicing

Another feature of local Dublin English which has avoided stigma and hence is found in newer speech in the city is the simplification of the initial cluster /hw-/. This is achieved by the deletion of the phonemic /h/ which, on the phonetic level, leads to the voicing of the segment [ʍ] (see Hickey 1984b for a detailed discussion of the phonemic status of this sound). This means that the members of word pairs like *whale – wail, which – witch* no longer contrast phonetically. Traditionally, the occurrence of [ʍ] in all words beginning with *wh-* is a prominent feature of Irish English (Hickey 1984b). It is not clear, however, exactly what will happen here because it cannot be said that users of the New Pronunciation unequivocally favour the voicing of [ʍ].

Table 2.5 *Distribution of WHICH-voicing among Dublin English speakers*

Test sentence: *Which one do you mean?*

1) *which* = [ʍɪtʃ], n = 13

DUB_DVS(Moderate)_1_F.wav
DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_F.wav
DUB_Local(Moderate)_M.wav
DUB_Local_3_M.wav
DUB_Local_4_M.wav
DUB_OldM_some_NewF_4_F.wav
DUB_OldM_2_F.wav
DUB_YoungNew_1_F.wav
DUB_YoungMainstream_1_M.wav
DUB_YoungMainstream_2_M.wav
DUB_YoungRefined_F.wav
DUB_YoungRefined_M.wav
DUB_YoungSlangy_1_F.wav

2) *which* = [wɪtʃ], n = 13

DUB_DVS_1_F.wav
DUB_DVS(Moderate)_3_F.wav
DUB_DVS(Moderate)_1_M.wav
DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_M.wav
DUB_DVS_1_M.wav
DUB_Local_1_M.wav
DUB_Local_2_M.wav
DUB_Local_5_M.wav
DUB_OlderDublin4_F.wav
DUB_OldM_1_F.wav

DUB_OldM_slight_NewF_3_F.wav
DUB_YoungMainstream_F.wav
DUB_YoungSlangy_2_F.wav

The distribution of [ʍ-] versus [w-] in the 26 speakers investigated is undecisive. There seems to be a general trend for local speakers to simplify /hw/ to [w] and this might explain the curious fact that the younger speakers have a slight propensity for retaining [ʍ]. By and large English dialects, in both Britain and America, have lost [ʍ] or in the process of doing so (Wells 1982: 228). The accents of the Southern Hemisphere and the anglophone Caribbean never had [ʍ] to start with.

Metathesis and epenthesis

Historically the processes of both metathesis and epenthesis are well attested in the English of Ireland and in the Irish language (Hickey 1986a). In the latter these processes are very widespread and have influenced the forms of English in contact with Irish. For Dublin English one can note that both are attested to a limited extent. To illustrate this and to show the interrelatedness of the phenomena the realisations of the word *modern* in the recordings of Dublin English will be discussed.

Table 2.6 *Distribution of metathesis and epenthesis with V/r/*

Test sentence: *It's near the modern station.*

1) *modern* = [mɒdərn], n = 15
   DUB_Local_3_M.wav
   DUB_DVS_1_M.wav
   DUB_DVS_1_F.wav
   DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_F.wav
   DUB_DVS(Moderate)_3_F.wav
   DUB_DVS(Moderate)_2_M.wav
   DUB_DVS(Moderate)_1_M.wav
   DUB_OldM_2_F.wav
   DUB_YoungSlangy_1_F.wav
   DUB_YoungSlangy_2_F.wav
   DUB_YoungRefined_F.wav
   DUB_YoungMainstream_F.wav
   DUB_YoungMainstream_2_M.wav
   DUB_YoungMainstream_1_M.wav
   DUB_YoungNew_1_F.wav

2) *modern* = [mɒdərən], n = 6
   DUB_Local_1_M.wav

`DUB_Local_2_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_4_M.wav`
`DUB_Local_5_M.wav`
`DUB_Local(Moderate)_M.wav`
`DUB_OldM_some_NewF_4_F.wav`

3) *modern* = [mɒdrən], n = 2

`DUB_OldM_slight_NewF_3_F.wav`
`DUB_OldM_1_F.wav`

4) *modern* = [mɒd̪ərən], n = 2

`DUB_YoungRefined_M.wav`
`DUB_OlderDublin4_F.wav`

As can be seen from the numerical distribution, the first variant is that preferred by speakers of the New Pronunciation and many mainstream speakers. The second variant is the one where epenthesis can be recognised: the heavy cluster /rn/, consisting of two sonorants, is broken up and resyllabified thus overcoming the prohibition in local Dublin English on heavy syllable codas, i.e. of codas consisting of two sonorants: [.mɒ.dərn.] > [.mɒ.də.rən.]. Variant three – a pronunciation also found commonly outside of Dublin – shows a situation which, viewed synchronically with [.mɒ.dərn.] as input looks like metathesis where the /r/ migrates from the coda to the onset thus reducing the phonological weight of the coda [.mɒ.dərn.] > [.mɒ.drən.]. However, it is uncertain whether this analysis also ties up with what happened historically. If the historically original form was [.mɒ.də.rən.] (as is still the case in local Dublin English) then the deletion of the first schwa yields the same output – [.mɒ.drən.] – which is then not a case of metathesis but of vowel deletion.

The fourth variant is interesting because is shows the dentalisation of /d/ in the environment of /r/. It can be clearly heard with the first speaker while the second, `DUB_OlderDublin4_F.wav`, stumbles and corrects herself, probably realising that this realisation is non-standard. This dentalisation of alveolars, both /t/ and /d/, in the environment of /r/ is well attested for rural varieties of Irish English and is particularly common in the north of Ireland still. Another observation of this dentalisation which is particularly clear with the male speaker is that the stop is hardly made and the dental sound is almost a fricative. This fact is interesting because in the history of English (Hickey 1987) there is a well-attested alteration of /d/ and /ð/ in the environment of /r/, for instance Shakespeare writes *murtherer* for *murderer* in Macbeth. Other words showing this alternation are *burthen* for *burden*, *farding* for *farthing*, etc.

/lm/ vowel epenthesis

In the test sentence *The film should start soon*, used in the recordings on the CD-ROM, every single speaker has vowel epenthesis, i.e. the pronunciation [fɪləm]. This was in fact true for the entire island of Ireland, including speakers in the north of an Ulster Scots background.

2.14 The spread of new Dublin English

If the observations of the present author in his studies of Dublin and Irish English in general during the 1990s are correct, the New Pronunciation managed to establish itself among the younger female generation in less than a decade. This fact has not escaped the attention of social commentators either. To show this consider the following extract from the column ‘An Irishman’s Diary’ in *The Irish Times* by Kevin Myers.

> I gave a lift to a teenage girl who was hitch-hiking near the village (Listowel, Co Kerry – RH), and was struck by her accent. It was not quite Dortspeak, but it was unquestionably Dublin middle class.
>
> Was she visiting? No, she was from just down the road there. Really? I said. You don’t sound local at all.
>
> Oh thank you so much, she said, that’s very kind of you. Why? I asked, astonished. Oh because only the stupid, the old, the backward spoke with a Kerry accent, she said. She was *delighted* to hear that she did not speak with one.
>
> The point is this. In her out-going demeanour, she was typically Kerry – as courteous and friendly as you would ever hope to find. Yet to her, that other vital sign of place, of community – the language of her area – was something to be ashamed of. (Myers 2000: 65).

The rapidity of this development gives rise to a number of questions. The adoption of a new pronunciation implies fairly extensive exposure to this accent. Traditional accounts of the spread of change would see the New Pronunciation emanating out of Dublin in wave-like form to gradually encompass the entire Republic of Ireland. But there are two serious objections to this view of the change. The first is that traditional accents of Irish English in the counties surrounding Dublin, namely Wicklow, Kildare and Meath, as used by the male and older female section of the population there do not show the shifts typical of the New Pronunciation, a fact confirmed by recordings for

A Sound Atlas of Irish English. The second objection to the wave model has to do with the time-scale. A gradual diffusion would take decades before reaching the edges of Ireland. But, for instance, in the recordings for Kerry, a few hundred kilometres from Dublin, the same New Pronunciation was found among younger females as, say in counties Carlow or Offaly which are less than 100 kilometres from Dublin.

If one dismisses gradual diffusion through speaker contact without speaker movement (the wave-model), then there are two remaining options. The first is that there was considerable speaker movement with large numbers of young non-local Dubliners carrying their pronunciation to remote parts in the south-west and west of Ireland. But that is entirely improbable and there is no evidence of such demographic movements. The second option is that the mass-media have played the decisive role. In general, sociolinguists have not attributed the media, such as television or radio, a major role in the spread of change. But in more recent discussions the role of the media in the dissemination of change is underlined, see Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 15).

The situation in contemporary Ireland offers support for this latter view. One should remember that the changes in Dublin English are clearly in evidence in the speech of newscasters and programme presenters in the national television network, RTE (Radio Telefís Éireann, 'Irish Radio and Television'). This network is located in the part of Dublin which first began to show the shift in the 1980s. And, of course, the employees of such an institution would be just the sector of the population which one would expect to find dissociating themselves from the putatively narrow confines of local Dublin speech. With regard to the dissemination of the New Pronunciation, one should note that exposure to the national television network is universal in the Republic of Ireland. As the presenting staff of the three English-speaking channels of RTE nearly all exhibit the New Pronunciation, this accent reaches audiences in parts of the country distant from Dublin which would otherwise have only limited opportunities to realise what new Dublin English is like. In addition the presenters, especially the female ones, on the national and many local radio stations around the country also use the New Pronunciation. Indeed, this has become an object of negative comment. The traffic service, *AA Road Watch*, which offers reports on the nationwide traffic situation particularly at rush hour in the morning and evening, is known for presenters who use an extreme form of the New Pronunciation and listeners regularly complain about their 'snotty' accent. The complaints come, of course, from conservative mainstream speakers.

2.15 The gender issue

In studies of sociophonological variation a major question has always been why women lead in language change (Wodak and Benke 1996: 134). In the Labovian tradition it is the intersection of class and gender which accounts for the specific behaviour of women in a scenario of language change (Labov 1990). In a dissociation scenario the key distinction is between the dissociating group and that being dissociated from. In present-day Dublin this translates directly into non-working class and working class (seen in class terms). For women speakers in Ireland to be working-class and female would be a double social disadvantage which provides motivation enough to distance oneself from the local pronunciation.

The observation that women were at the vanguard of the changes in Dublin speech was confirmed by the large number of women who were recorded as active in the shift. For instance, for the investigation of Grafton Street jewellery shop assistants in the mid 1990s the group was entirely female because no comparable group of males – for instance those working in the financial services sector – could be found which showed the shift to any significant degree. In an attempt to consider this group, during the *Change in Dublin English* project (1994-1998), it was found that the ancillary female staff of financial institutions illustrated the changes in Dublin English to which their male superiors were largely impervious.

For the current section the gender issue was considered once again, this time to put on an objective footing informal observations about women being at the forefront of the changes. Of course, this is not something of which they are conscious. The scalar variation among the vowels of new Dublin English constitutes an example of change from below the level of consciousness (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 163) and so is free from prescriptive notions of correct language. There is one binary variable which is considered below. This is T-flapping, the use of [ɾ] intervocalically for /t/ which can be heard for some speakers in the test sentence *There's a letter for you today* on the sound files of the accompanying CD-ROM. It is favoured after short vowels. Thus there were somewhat fewer instances in the sentence *They've a new water* [ˈwɔː _ ɚ] *supply* where the stressed vowel in the keyword in long. Although binary variation tends to be a more conscious phenomenon, the T-flapping of new Dublin English has not yet become the object of widespread comment.

Below three variables are considered from the point of view of gender. The three are part of the current changes as it makes little sense to consider general features of Dublin accents, such as SOFT-lengthening which obviously has no value as an indicator of change. Lack of V/r/-metathesis or WHICH-voicing are equally not useful in this respect as their occurrence across varieties is diffuse and they are again not indicative of a single accent like that of new Dublin English. MOUTH-fronting is to be found with all speakers under 30 in Dublin so it might appear uninteresting but being a scalar variable makes it relevant to the present discussion (see further comments below).

Test persons for evaluation

For the statistics offered below a test group was constructed consisting of 40 males and 40 females all about 20 years of age. This age group was thus one which was establishing its vernacular mode during the mid 1990s when the New Pronunciation was to be heard in their surroundings as the prestige variety of Dublin English for young speakers. The 80 speakers were selected from the 314 recordings to be found on the CD-ROM. They were from the 39 locations in Dublin for which they are speakers (the entire metropolitan area). To round this figure up to 40, two additional speakers were taken from Dun Laoghaire on the southside of the city.

For each variable two realisations were considered and speakers classified according to whether they used a realisation which was closer to one or the other of the two reference points. This can be seen in the tables below. In the following the values on the left are the more innovative.

1) GOAT *diphthongisation*

[go₊ʊt] versus [goʊt]

n = 40, 40	yes	no
Male	18 (45%)	22 (55%)
Female	34 (85%)	6 (15%)

Test sentence: *They had a* GOAT *on their farm.*

2) R-*retroflexion*

[nɔːɻt̠] versus [nɒːɹt̠]

n = 40, 40	yes	no
Male	17 (43%)	23 (57%)
Female	36 (90%)	4 (10%)

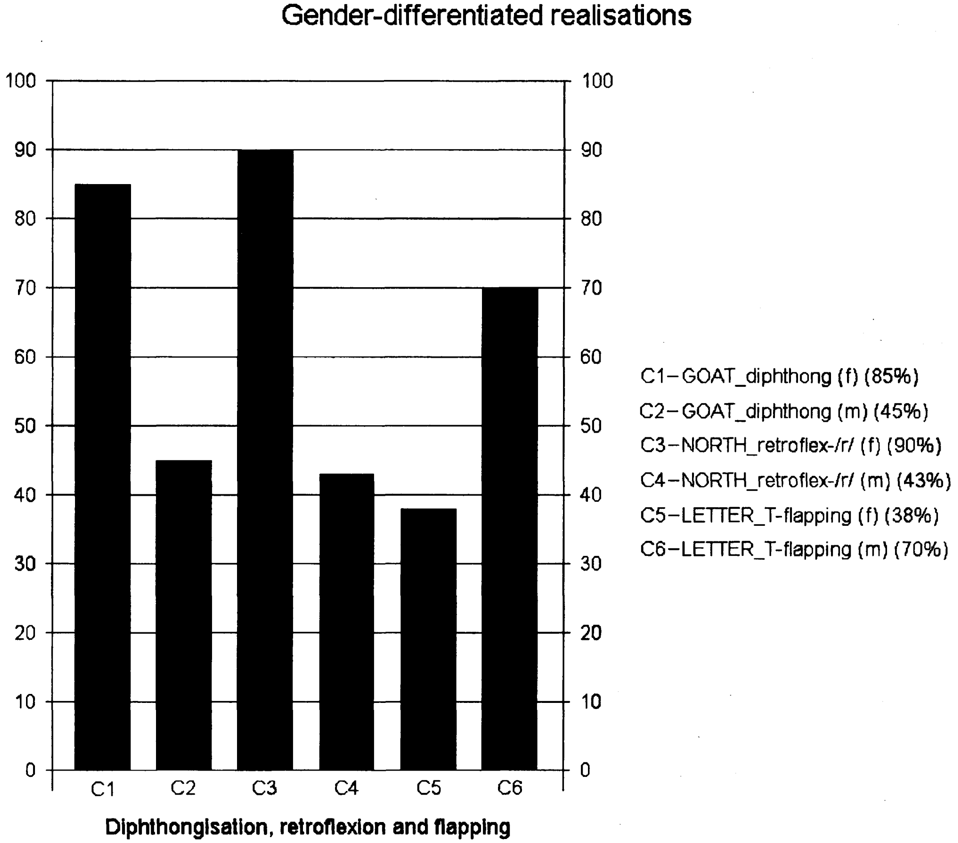
Test sentence: *They're travelling up* NORTH.

3) T-*flapping*

[-ɾ-] versus [-ṱ-]

n = 40, 40	yes	no
Male	28 (70%)	12 (30%)
Female	15 (38%)	25 (62%)

Test sentence: *There's a* LETTER *for you today.*



What is immediately obvious is that GOAT *diphthongisation* and R-*retroflexion* are overwhelmingly represented by women, the men having slightly less than 50% incidence for the innovative value and the women showing values between 80% and 90%. So great is the representation among women that very advanced pronunciations for the GOAT vowel, such as [gəʊ], may be seen as a specifically female pronunciation.

Of the three variables above, [go˖ʊt] correlates with [nɔːɻt̠], i.e. GOAT diphthongisation and R-retroflexion are paired features of the New Pronunciation. The values for T-flapping form a special case. Only about a third of women had this feature but over two-thirds of men. In origin, T-flapping is a male vernacular feature and not attested for mainstream Dublin English. It is, however, found with all the local male speakers in the sound files. Its vernacular origin is confirmed by the fact that several speakers with the mainstream realisations [goʊt] and [nɒːɹt̠] had T-flapping as well. This feature is now spreading from males to females.

A tertiary division of speakers

The tables for the first two variables above assume a binary division of scalar realisations. This might not always do justice to the range of attested values. Consider, for example, that some female speakers have very considerable R-retroflexion as in [noˑˈɻt̠]. This can be seen as a more extreme form of the general vowel raising and retroflex /r/ of the New Pronunciation. One can now present values with a tertiary division as in the following table.

Table 2.7 *Advanced R-retroflexion and* GOAT-*diphthongisation*

	mainstream	moderate NP	advanced NP
R-*retroflexion*	[nɒːɹt̠]	[nɔːɻt̠]	[noˑˈɻt̠]
GOAT *diphthongisation*	[goʊ]	[go˖ʊ]	[gəʊ]

(NP = New Pronunciation)

A good example of this stage of the changes in Dublin English is represented by the speaker on the file `DUB_Raheny_F_20.wav`.

Virtually every speaker from Dublin has MOUTH-fronting – the only exception are older mainstream speakers – so the matter may be regarded as unrevealing. But in the light of the tertiary division just given one can recognise a level of MOUTH -fronting greater than that which is general in Dublin English. There are then two stages of MOUTH -fronting, as opposed to three for /r/-retroflexion, but the second one correlates with the third stage for retroflexion.

Table 2.8 *Advanced R-retroflexion and* MOUTH-*fronting*

	mainstream	moderate NP	advanced NP
MOUTH-*fronting*	[tæʊn]	ditto	[tɛʊn]
R-*retroflexion*	[nɒːɹt̪]	[nɔːɻt̪]	[noˑ$^{\text{ɪ}}$ɻt̪]

(NP = New Pronunciation)

Again advanced MOUTH-fronting correlates with advanced retroflexion and back vowel raising and is currently the domain of female speakers. To help appreciate the realisations being referred to here three sound files have been prepared and can be listened to via the option *Extracts from files* accessible from *List of all options* in the *File* menu of the programme *Discover Dublin English* on the accompanying CD-ROM. The sound files are the following:

```
DUB_TertiaryRetroflexion.wav
DUB_TertiaryGOATdiphthong.wav
DUB_BinaryAUfronting.wav
```

3 Attitudes to Dublin English

3.1 Assessment of speaker accents

Attitudes to dialects can well play a role in the development of new features, especially where dissociation is a force in operation within a certain group of speakers. In the past there have been a few small surveys on reactions to Irish English accents (see Edwards 1977a, b, 1979, 1982; Edwards and Jakobsen 1987; Masterson, Mullins and Mulvihill 1983). In some cases, such as Edwards (1977a), the *matched-guise technique* was used. This is a common method in sociolinguistic research for evaluating informants reactions to dialects and sociolects. It involves a speaker reading a passage of text in two or more different accents. The informants are unaware that in each case it is the same person reading and they are requested to rate the tape-recorded playback of each reading. The result is taken to reflect attitudes to linguistic stereotypes, since all other variables – bar accent – are constant across different readings. Many linguists, including the author, have reservations about this technique because they are few if any individuals who can do a convincing enough rendering of an accent other than their own vernacular, at least sufficiently authentic to be used for this kind of sociolinguistic evaluation. The danger that idiosyncratic features of a speaker's speech, such as voice pitch, resonance, speed of delivery, etc., might prejudice a hearer are accepted in order to have a set of recordings in which speakers use their own native accents.

To try and put attitudes about accents in the south of Ireland on a firmer footing the author carried out a controlled questionnaire survey concerning different accents of English. The aim was to ascertain if patterns were discernible in speakers' judgements. Specifically, the interest was directed at evaluative notions and to that end recordings of six different speakers illustrating six accents of English were arranged and played back to a group of test persons. Four of the accents were Irish, one was English and one American. The informants were obviously not told what accents the speakers represented. The stretch of text on the recordings was the same in each case. The accents represented on the recording, which each test person was presented with, were the following.

Six speakers on assessment recordings

1) Received Pronunciation (London, male, early 50s)
2) General American (Minnesota, female, mid 20s)
3) Ulster Scots (North Antrim, male, about 60)
4) Dublin 4 (Dublin, female, about 35)
5) Local Dublin (Dublin, male, about 20)
6) Rural South-West (Co. Cork, male, about 40)

Stretch of text read for accent assessment

Getting ready for their holidays

Michael and Maura had been planning to go to Italy for a long time now. First they were thinking of going in July but decided that it would be too hot. They also realised that there're too many tourists around then. Instead they thought they'd travel at a quieter time, like early spring, so they booked their flight for March.

The aim was to get at least 100 test persons; in the event 111 returns were collected. 19 returns were rejected because the forms were incomplete or because they were quite eccentric, such as one claiming that speaker 5 in the above table was 'important, intelligent' and 'well educated' and everyone else was not, something which was obviously not meant seriously.

The test persons were given the following A4 page and after each recording they were asked to tick a rating for the accent they just heard.

Survey of Irish English Usage

Test person	☐ male	☐ female	home county:	
	☐ under 18	☐ 18 - 30	☐ over 30	☐ over 40
	☐ from Dublin	☐ other city	☐ other town	☐ country

Accents assessment section

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 1 (*Received Pronunciation*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 2 (*General American*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 3 (*Northern accent*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 4 (*Dublin 4 accent*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 5 (*Local Dublin accent*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

Please tick a rating for the speaker of Accent 6 (*South-West country accent*)

	very	fairly	slightly
important, intelligent	☐	☐	☐
pleasant, friendly	☐	☐	☐

well educated ☐ little education ☐ no education ☐

For the present book it was regarded as sensible to have a majority of test persons from Dublin (city or county), but many others were from outside Dublin, as can be seen from the following table.

Geographical spread of test persons by frequency, n = 111
18 of 26 (32) counties represented

County	*No. of returns*	*County*	*No. of returns*
Dublin	41	Kildare	4
Kilkenny	11	Westmeath	3
Waterford	9	Cork	2
Wexford	8	Galway	2
Tipperary	6	Laois	2
Louth	5	Clare	2
Meath	5	Carlow	1
Donegal	4	Down	1
Kerry	4	Offaly	1

3.2 Assessment results

The numerical scores in the following tables reflect the ratings made by the test persons. Each accent could score from 0 to 2 as the adjectives were assigned the following values for the statistical evaluation: 'very' = 2, 'fairly' = 1, 'slightly' = 0. The scores for 'well educated', 'little education' and 'no education' were 2, 1 and 0 respectively in order to match the values for 'very', 'fairly' and 'slightly' of the first two parameters. As ticking the box 'slightly' or 'no education' resulted in a value of '0' the following tables represent positive assessment, that is there were no degrees of negativity like -1 or -2. In fact the box 'fairly' was ticked most frequently. Take, for instance, the value of '73' in the Dublin group for 'important, intelligent' in the assessment of the RP speaker. 9 members of the test population regarded the speaker of RP as very 'important, intelligent'. 55 regarded him as fairly 'important, intelligent'. As the a tick in the 'very' box was counted with a value '2', the 9 returns yielded 18. This was added to the 55 for the 'fairly' box, giving 73 as the total score for the parameter 'important, intelligent' in assessing the RP speaker. Using this method of calculation resulted in the scores in the following table. Here it is not an issue whether it is appropriate in any absolute sense to give a value of '2' to a value for 'very' and '1' for 'fairly'. It was considered sufficient for the method to yield a set of *relative* scores which show clearly the weighting of the parameters across the group of 6 speakers.

1) *Received Pronunciation accent*

	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	73	71	72
pleasant, friendly	40	36	38
well educated	69	70	70

2) *General American accent*

	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	61	64	63
pleasant, friendly	53	54	54
well educated	47	51	49

3) *Ulster Scots accent*

	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	39	42	41
pleasant, friendly	54	60	57
well educated	31	37	34

4) *Dublin 4 accent*

	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	72	68	70
pleasant, friendly	33	28	31
well educated	57	55	56

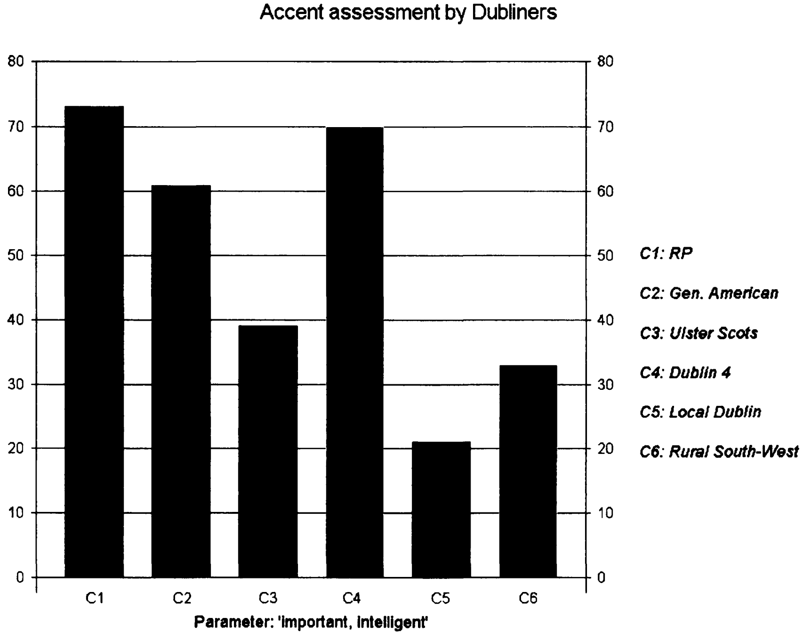
5) *Local Dublin English accent*

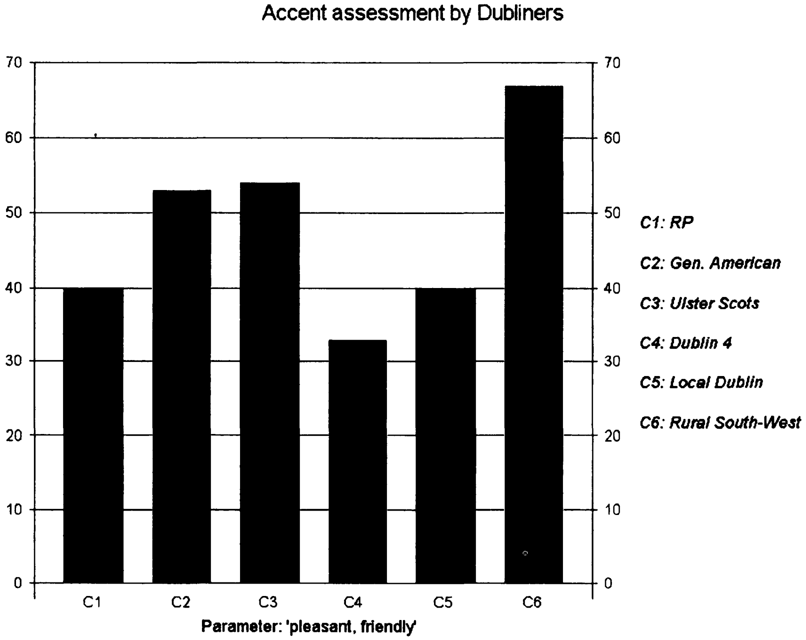
	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	21	25	23
pleasant, friendly	40	41	41
well educated	14	16	15

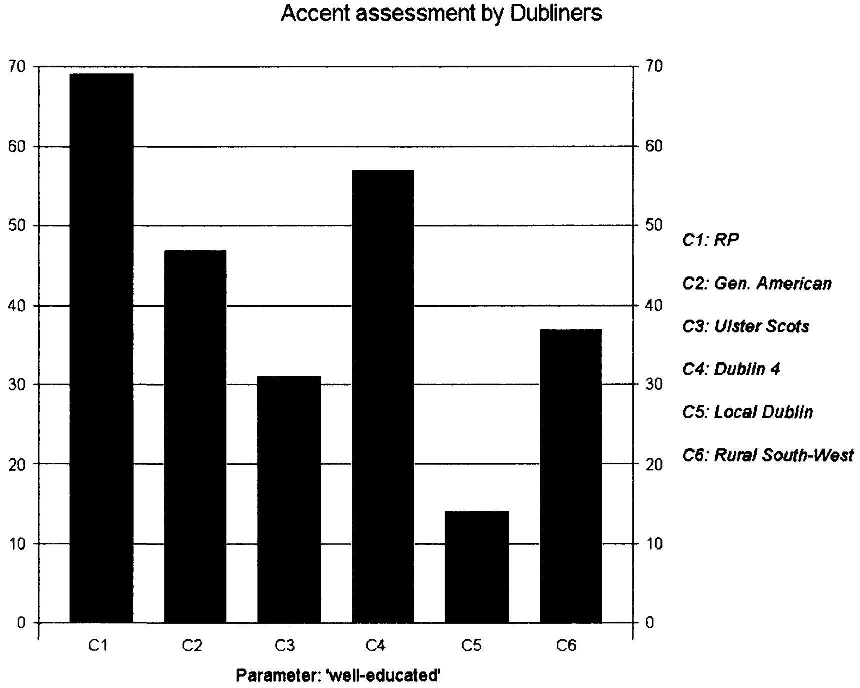
6) *Rural (Co Cork) accent*

	Dublin group	Non-Dublin	Combined
important, intelligent	33	41	37
pleasant, friendly	67	70	69
well educated	37	41	39

The above results have been arranged graphically for quicker recognition of the statistical distributions as can be seen from the following three graphs.







There is a general trend here: the RP speaker was regarded as 'important, intelligent', but not very 'pleasant, friendly'. The American speaker was not necessarily regarded as 'important, intelligent', but definitely 'pleasant, friendly'. The Ulster Scots speakers scored fairly well for both of these parameters. The local Dublin English speaker unfortunately confirmed all prejudices and was classified as having virtually 'no education'. The rural Cork speaker was regarded of all as the most 'pleasant, friendly', even for the Dubliners, something which may well reflect the attachment many urbanites in Ireland have with the countryside.

By and large these results confirm the intuitive assumptions about attitudes to accents in the south of Ireland. There are, however, a few somewhat unexpected results. The first is obviously that RP scored a very high value. This may have been favoured by the fact that the speaker was an older male, but 25 of the 41 test persons for Dublin and 62 of the 111 total were female so that one cannot assume a bonus for members of the same sex. This result is interesting when one considers that RP is not an accent which is regarded as worthy of imitation in the Republic of Ireland. But perhaps there is a difference between attitude to an accent (positive) and the emulation of one (not viewed positively).

The second somewhat unexpected result is that the American accent did not score too highly on the parameters 'important, intelligent' and 'education' which may confirm a prejudice that Americans are not generally intelligent and well-educated. It may well be that the Irish participate in a generally condescending European attitude towards the Americans in this respect.

Another result which was not expected was that the northern accent rated rather highly for the parameter 'pleasant, friendly'. This gives the lie somewhat to the notion among southerners that northern accents are harsh and grating.

The results which are perhaps most significant are those concerning the 'Dublin 4' accent. The speaker here was generally not received well, the accent was in fact considered slightly less 'pleasant, friendly' than was the local Dublin English accent although the latter was associated with 'no education'. This finding does indeed confirm the present-day view that the 'Dublin 4' accent is pretentious and snobbish, a fact which goes a long way to explaining why this original accent came to be rejected and hence not imitated (see section II 2.3 *Why 'Dortspeak' failed* above).

The non-Dublin group, which consisted of 59 test persons from 16 counties around the Republic of Ireland (and 1 from Down, the only person from Northern Ireland), by and large reflects the assessments given by their metropolitan counterparts. The rural group tend, however, to be slightly less positive towards RP and somewhat more generous in their assessment of American accents. The assessment of the Ulster Scots accent was better too, but this was largely due to the very positive views of the Donegal and Louth test persons (these counties border on Northern Ireland). They also had a marginally more positive attitude to the local Dublin English speaker and regarded the rural south-west speaker as quite important and/or intelligent.

3.3 Perception of dialect regions

Following on the survey of attitudes to accents a second one was undertaken, this time to determine what people thought about the dialect regions of Ireland. In the past few decades the attention of linguists – primarily stimulated by the work of Dennis Preston (see Preston 1989, Preston and Niedzielski 1999, Preston, ed., 1999) – has come to focus on the views about dialects held by non-linguists. The assumption here is that the ideas of this group can be instrumental in language change through dialect contact, dialect emulation, etc.

For the current survey of dialect perception, the overwhelming number of test persons were from Dublin, again with somewhat more females than males (a consequence of the readiness of people approached for the survey). The aim was to obtain at least 200 hundred returns, assuming that this number would iron out any spikes in the distribution deriving from eccentric views of individuals. In all 207 returns were used (nearly 300 were filled in), almost twice as many as in the accent survey. Some returns were rejected because the test persons in question did not complete the task, because of obscene remarks, or because of quite unrealistic claims such as that the greatest number of dialect divisions were to be found in Co Clare.

In this survey test persons were given a pencil and a blank outline map of Ireland with no text whatever on it save for the title *Dialect regions of Ireland* in the top left hand corner. The aim was to ascertain what conceptions of dialect areas speakers had for the country. The request was that they simply draw in what they regarded as different accents of English in Ireland and where they were spoken. The author answered no questions during the test which might have suggested a particular response. Test persons were told that they could be as detailed as they wanted and should preferably offer labels for the divisions they made. The tests were frequently carried out in groups. This was found to be conducive to participation as test persons often compared notes and discussed the matter with themselves. As always, the author stood some distance away while test persons were filling in the map. Importantly, he remained out of earshot so that they were free to discuss and enter what they liked without feeling observed. The only information entered afterwards by the author was the informant's gender and county of origin.

Geographical spread of test persons by frequency, n = 207

Dublin group = 138	non-Dublin group = 69
M = 52; F = 86	M = 24; F = 45

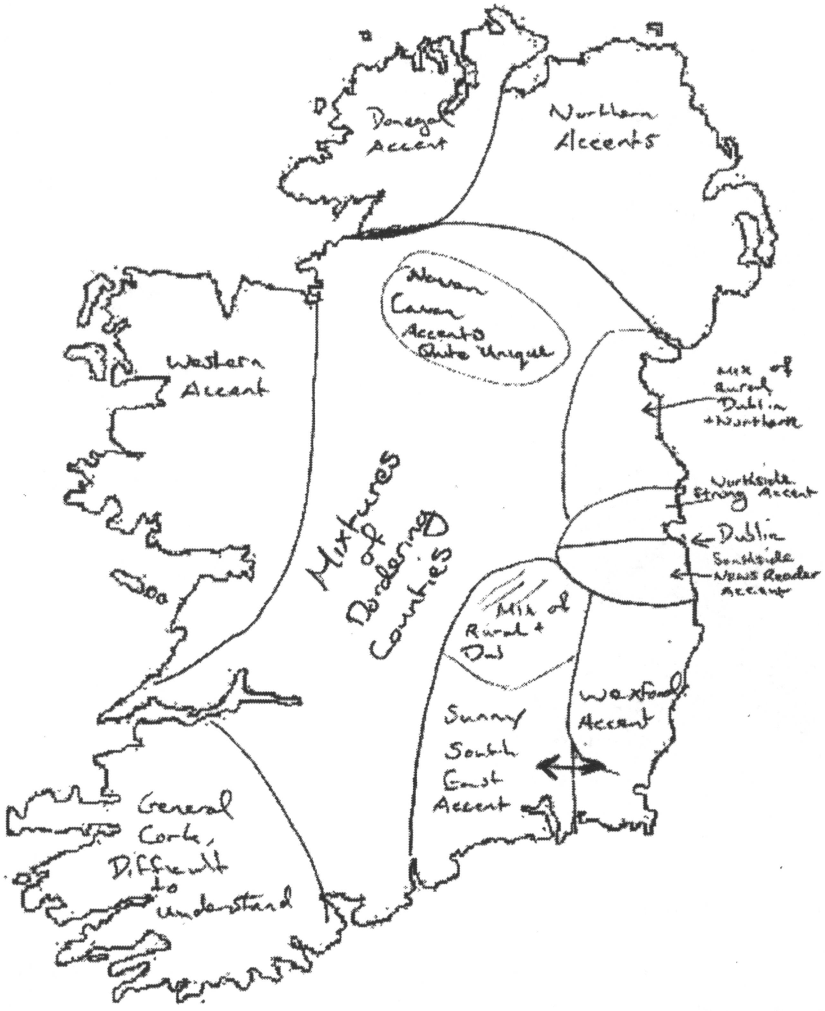
25 of 26 (none from the north) counties represented

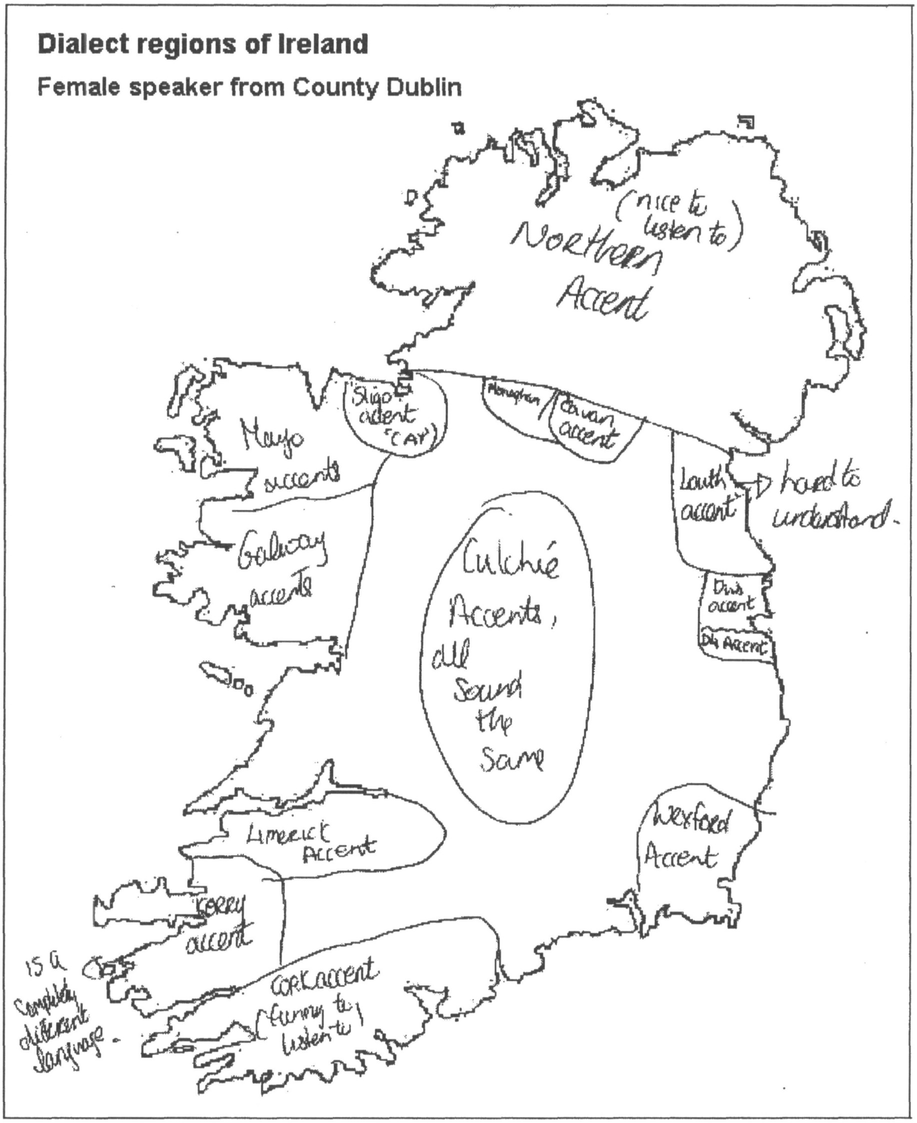
County	*Returns*	*County*	*Returns*
Dublin	138	Laois	2
Kildare	12	Limerick	2
Cork	5	Louth	2
Mayo	5	Sligo	2
Meath	4	Carlow	1
Monaghan	4	Clare	1
Offaly	4	Kerry	1
Tipperary	4	Kilkenny	1

Wexford	4	Longford	1
Galway	3	Roscommon	1
Leitrim	3	Waterford	1
Wicklow	3	Westmeath	1
Cavan	2		

Dialect regions of Ireland

Female speaker from County Dublin


Donegal Accent
Northern Accents
Navan Cavan Accents Quite Unique
Western Accent
Mix of Rural Dublin + Northern
Northside Strong Accent
Dublin
Southside News Reader Accent
Mixtures of Bordering Counties
Mix of Rural + Dub
Sunny South East Accent
Wexford Accent
General Cork, Difficult to Understand


Dialect regions of Ireland
Female speaker from County Dublin
(nice to listen to)
Northern Accent
Sligo adent 'CAR')
Monaghan
Cavan accent
Mayo accents
Louth accent
hard to understand.
Galway accents
Culchie Accents, all sound the same
Dub accent
D4 Accent
Limerick Accent
Wexford Accent
Kerry accent
is a completely different language.
Cork accent (funny to listen to)

3.4 *Results of dialect divisions*

The results from the map returns were evaluated and separated out by gender and origin, the latter giving a binary division into a Dublin and a non-Dublin group. It is significant to note that, in absolute terms (see percentages in table below), the males of both the Dublin and the non-Dublin groups showed a greater awareness of dialect. From the drawings the test persons produced (see two samples given above) six divisions were construed and the maps were then evaluated according to whether these divisions were recognised by individual test persons or not. This procedure yielded the following results.

1) *Distinguished at least two forms of Dublin English*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	54 (63%)	36 (69%)		16 (36%)	10 (42%)
No	32 (37%)	16 (31%)		27 (60%)	16 (67%)

2) *Distinguished Midland group (Dublin hinterland)*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	39 (45%)	27 (52%)		27 (60%)	14 (58%)
No	47 (55%)	25 (48%)		18 (40%)	10 (42%)

3) *Divided the western seaboard (west and south-west)*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	60 (70%)	43 (83%)		16 (36%)	14 (58%)
No	26 (30%)	9 (17%)		29 (64%)	10 (42%)

4) *Recognised Cork as separate dialect region*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	45 (52%)	32 (62%)		26 (58%)	13 (54%)
No	41 (48%)	20 (38%)		19 (42%)	11 (46%)

5) *Distinguished East/South-East region*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	28 (33%)	19 (37%)		18 (40%)	11 (46%)
No	58 (67%)	33 (63%)		27 (60%)	13 (54%)

6) *Distinguished Donegal within the north*

Dublin	F	M	non-Dublin	F	M
Yes	43 (50%)	38 (73%)		28 (62%)	19 (79%)
No	43 (50%)	14 (23%)		17 (38%)	5 (21%)

1) *Distinguished at least two forms of Dublin English* It is obvious from the above that the majority of the Dublin group distinguished between two forms of Dublin English, generally a northern and a southern form, the latter often labelled as 'D4' or 'Dublin 4'. A respectable average of 39% rural persons recognised this division as well.

2) *Distinguished Midland group (Dublin hinterland)* The midlands were identified as a special region by nearly half the Dubliners and by nearly 60% of the non-Dubliners. It would seem that the test persons had an awareness of the midlands as a large, flat central part of the country and assumed that there was an accent of English there which they generally regarded as 'flat'.

3) *Divided the western seaboard (west and south-west)* The western seaboard was marked as an area by many more Dublin than non-Dublin persons. However, the reason for that is probably that for Dubliners the western seaboard is the remote countryside. The further divisions many people offered, such as one between Galway and Mayo, showed that the Dubliners has no clear conception of western varieties of English, simply that they knew Galway and Mayo were large counties there (their speech is very similar and does not justify a dialect sub-division).

4) *Recognised Cork as separate dialect region* Well over half the entire test population recognised that Cork had a separate accent of English. The awareness of Cork may have had to do its position as second-largest city in the Republic of Ireland and natural rival of Dublin. But linguistic features also played a role, for instance, the pitch variations – described variously as 'musical' – by test persons and the open realisation of low back vowels, stereotypically to be seen in the local pronunciation of the city's name as [kark] *Cork*.

5) *Distinguished East/South-East region* The figures for the east/south-east as a distinct dialect region are much less than for other divisions. The notion of an east coast dialect area did not surface with any test persons, though the coastal south-east – Wexford and sometimes Waterford – was frequently recognised as dialectally separate. The low figures for the east coast dialect area may have to do with the position of some of its key counties – typically Kilkenny and Carlow – slightly inland and hence between the coast and the midlands.

6) *Distinguished Donegal within the north* An obvious reason for the high figures for recognition of Donegal as a separate region in the north is the fact that this county is in the Republic of Ireland, though part of Ulster

linguistically and geographically. It was recognised as separate more by the non-Dublin group than the Dublin group and males seemed to have a somewhat greater consciousness of this county.

3.5 Evaluation of dialect regions

The majority of returns contained prescriptive comments on the dialect regions of Ireland and in this section an attempt is made to classify these with a view to determining what attitudes were like to the dialect regions which test persons recognised. In the following, comments have often been subsumed under a single label, e.g. 'incoherent, senseless' are considered as instances of 'difficult to understand' as was the comment 'speak too fast'.

1) *Remarks on northside accent*

	Dublin M	F	non-Dublin F	M
strong, hard	5	5	4	6
drawl	2	1		
normal, common	4	3		
difficult to understand	1	2		

2) *Remarks on southside/Dublin 4 accent*

	Dublin M	F	non-Dublin F	M
posh, snobbish, poncy	9	12	10	4
clear, distinct	2	2		
nasal twang	1	1		
news reader accent		1		

3) *Remarks on Midlands accent*

	Dublin M	F	non-Dublin F	M
flat, undistinguished	4	5	2	

4) *Remarks on Cork/South-West accent*

	Dublin M	F	non-Dublin F	M
strong country accent	5	11	4	6
musical (great pitch range)	6	6	4	4
difficult to understand	9	14	6	8
soft, pleasant	1	3	2	

5) *Remarks on northern accent*

	Dublin M	F	non-Dublin F	M
high-pitched	2		2	2
strong, distinctive	4	5		2
difficult to understand	2	2		
harsh, unpleasant	2	1		
soft, pleasant	1	4	4	4

The ratio of Dubliners to non-Dubliners for this survey is by curious coincidence exactly 2 : 1, 138 : 69. To render the figures comparable, the values for the non-Dubliners were multiplied by two.

A dismissive attitude towards rural accents was all too prevalent: accents outside Dublin being described as ‘culchie, bogger, mucker’ accents. In the reverse direction there were occasional comments by non-Dubliners to the effect that their accent highlights the difference they feel exists between them and the rest of the country.

Non-Dubliners have far fewer prescriptive comments on accents, either in Dublin or around the country.

Many Dubliners complained about rural inhabitants speaking too fast. Others remarked that midlands accents were uniform, ‘flat’ in their words.

Some comments point to a perception of features which are distinctive. For instance, two persons remarked that speakers from Louth cannot pronounce their *r*’s. This is probably a reference to the uvular [ʁ] which is found colloquially in North Leinster.

Perhaps the most remarkable figure in this table is that for female Dubliners in section 4 who find Cork/South-West accents difficult to understand. This fact highlights clearly the phonetic gulf between (female) new Dublin English and (male) conservative Cork English where the retraction and raising of vowels found in Dublin is completely absent. The latter group would also use a non-retroflex [ɹ], perhaps with some velarisation, and have [au] in the MOUTH lexical set. By and large the distinctive intonational patterns of Cork English were also recognised by speakers from Dublin and by others.

There were virtually no comments on accents of the mid-west, often Mayo and Galway were drawn as separate areas but this is probably due to the knowledge of them as separate counties. Speakers did not offer any comments on language there except once or twice a stereotypical label like ‘wesht’ indicating [wɛʃt] for *west* was used. No person complained about western dialects being too difficult to understand or of speakers from there speaking too quickly in sharp distinction to the comments found for the Cork/South-West. In fact two persons who remarked on how difficult Cork accents were to understand specified that Galway / Mayo accents were fairly easy by comparison.

4 The wider context

Within the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, Dublin is by far and away the major city. Its nearest rival in the south is Cork, the language of which has not been investigated in published form to date. Gunn (1982) is an unpublished MA thesis as is Murphy (1994) and the very much older Leahy (1915). This fact reflects more the status of English-based sociolinguistics in the Republic of Ireland rather than an objective assessment of the value of Cork English. Certainly within the context of Irish English, Cork city occupies a unique position. It is the second largest city of the Republic and the question of its relationship to the capital most certainly has a linguistic aspect to it. The city is divided into suburbs of differing social status with its own equivalent of the Dublin 4 area of the capital, Montenotte, at the eastern entry to the city. The features of Cork English are clearly recognisable, above all the open realisation of back vowels, the use of alveolar stops in the THINK and THIS lexical sets and the great variations in pitch found in intonation. These can be heard distinctly on the sound file `COR_Cobh_U2_M_40_T.wav` (the speaker is from Cobh, just outside Cork city) which is on the accompanying CD-ROM, click on point 9 of the active map displayed when you select the item *The wider context* in the list of all options within *Discover Dublin English.* There is no material available on English in Limerick or Galway (the next two large cities in the Republic) but the vernacular varieties of Waterford have been examined and the results published in Hickey (2001a).

Within Northern Ireland the two main cities are Belfast and Derry, the former the capital and less than half the size of Dublin. English varieties in both cities have been investigated, those in Belfast by James and Lesley Milroy and those in Derry by Kevin McCafferty. The goundbreaking work of the Milroys into social networks and their linguistic ramifications (L. Milroy 1984, 1987 [1980]; J. Milroy 1986, 1991, 1992, 1999; J. and L. Milroy 1993; L. and J. Milroy 1997) will not be dealt with here as this would go beyond the remit of the present book.

4.1 English in Belfast

English in Belfast is an amalgam of features which come from the two main sources of English in Ulster, western Scotland and northern England, along with some independent traits only found in the capital city (see the list of features in J. Milroy 1981: 25f.). The following is a list of features which can be clearly attributed to one of the two main English-language sources in Ulster (J. Milroy 1981: 25f.).

Table 4.1 *Ulster Anglo-Irish (Ulster English) features*

1) palatalisation of /k, g/ before /a/, [kjat] for *cat*
2) dentalisation of /t, d/ before /r/, [bɛt̪ə] for *better*
3) lowering and unrounding of /ɒ/, [pɑt] for *pot*
4) ME /ɛː/ realised as a mid-vowel, [bɛːt] for *beat* /ʊ/ for /ʌ/ in *but*, *luck*, etc.
5) lowering of /ɛ/ to /æ/, *set* [sæt]
6) the use of /au/ before /l/ in monosyllables, [aul] for *old*, also a feature of Lowland Scots.

Table 4.2 *Ulster Scots features*

1) raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ before velars, [bɛk, bɛg] for *back*, *bag*
2) raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ after /k/ and (residually) /g/ [kɛp, kɛsl̩] for *cap*, *castle*
3) short realisations of high vowels, [bit, bʉt] for *beet*, *boot*
4) lowering and possible centralisation of /ɪ/, /bɛt, sɛns/ or
5) /bʌt, sʌns/ for *bit*, *sense*

Table 4.3 *Common features in Belfast and Dublin English*

1) lowering and unrounding of /ɒ/, /pɑt/ for *pot*
2) dentalisation of /t, d/ before /r/, /bɛt̪ə/ for *better*
3) ME /ɛː/ realised as a mid-vowel, /bɛːt/ for *beat*
4) the use of /au/ before /l/ in monosyllables, /aul/ for *old*
5) Retroflex /r/ in post-vocalic position, *far* [faːɻ]

Of the above features, (1) to (4) are probably due to the common history of English in Ireland and can be regarded as areal features of vernacular varieties in the island of Ireland (Hickey 1999b). However, feature (5), which is characteristic of new Dublin English, has in all probability arisen independently of the existence of a retroflex [ɹ] in the north of Ireland (see section 4.3 *Dublin and northern cities* below).

4.2 English in Derry

The city of Derry[1] has a population of over 100,000 and is ethnically over 70% Catholic as opposed to Belfast which has a majority Protestant population. There is a large degree of segregation in terms of residence for the two communities: east of the River Foyle, which divides the city, are found Protestants and west of the river is almost exclusively Catholic. The segregation increased after sectarian violence flared up in the late 1960s and applies to all spheres of life: occupation and leisure time activities apart from place of residence (see Millar 1987, 1990 for a general discussion of language and ethnicity).

The only research on the English of Derry city is that of McCafferty (1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000), apart from one study of intonation in Derry (McElholm 1986). The city has a special status within Northern Ireland as it is on the one hand the second largest and on the other the only major city with a Catholic majority. It is understandable that it would receive innovations which arise in Belfast but also that the Catholic majority in the city might well show an inherent resistance to these. A number of changes are recorded for Derry which are listed in the following.

Table 4.4 *Instances of change in Derry English*

1) A gradual replacement of [ʌ] with [ʉ] (standard in Northern Ireland) which has been ongoing in Ulster and Scotland for some time.
2) A widespread vernacular innovation originating in the east of Northern Ireland which sees older [ɪ] replaced by [iə] in the FACE class and both of these alternating with standard [e].

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[1] 'Londonderry' is a variant preferred by both Ulster Protestants and British commentators and goes back to a renaming of the city when London companies were commissioned with the task of transporting English settlers there at the beginning of the 17th century. The city's name is an Anglicisation of Irish *doire* 'oak-grove', a common name, or element of name, in the north and south of the country.

3) A vernacular innovation that appears to have originated in the east in the last hundred years by which intervocalic [ð] is being dropped.
4) A localised Derry English vernacular innovation which realises the same intervocalic [ð] as a lateral [l].

Quantitatively, change in Derry English is not as significant as in Dublin. Nonetheless, it is interesting in the context of Ireland as a whole to consider the motivation for the changes which have been registered. Given the inverse proportion of ethnic communities in Derry compared to the rest of Northern Ireland, McCafferty maintains that the relationship of ethnicity to change would appear to be relevant. McCafferty (1999) points to the tendency for the SQUARE and NURSE lexical sets to merge, a feature spreading from the east of Northern Ireland and typical of the Protestant middle class. For this group a lack of quality distinction with the NORTH and FORCE lexical set is also found. The shift of older [ɪ] to [iə] in the FACE class is taken to be characteristic of younger Protestants. Protestant changes are in general incoming innovations which are spreading from eastern Northern Ireland, i.e. from the Belfast conurbation.

The only *leading* change among the Catholics in Derry is the shift of intervocalic [ð] to a lateral [l] (a change which is clearly attested in the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*, Hickey 2004d). The Protestants in Derry have no vernacular innovations of their own.

Table 4.5 *Changes in Derry English according to ethnicity*

Ethnic group				*Source*
Protestants	[oːr]	→	[ɔːr]	Eastern Northern Ireland
	[ɛr]	→	[əːr]	——
	[e,ɪ]	→	[ɪə]	——
Catholics	[- ð -]	→	[- l -]	Local to Derry city

4.3 Dublin and northern cities

The previous paragraphs show that the varieties of English in the north of Ireland are quite different from those in the south. The Ulster Scots input and the more general present-day varieties of Ulster English have constellations of sounds which are not found in the south. For instance, the high mid vowel [ʉ] does not appear in the south, though the border for this feature reaches further down south than previously thought. The increased lexical incidence of /ʌ/, e.g. in *could, should, pull, push*, is completely unknown in the south. The breaking of long mid front vowels, e.g. *face* [feəs], is again unique to northern varieties. These and other features show that English in the south and the north of Ireland are quite separate and do not influence each other. The intonational patterns of various forms of Ulster English (Rahilly 1994, 1997) are not imitated in the south either.

The dynamics of English in Belfast and Derry are of a different nature from those of current Dublin English. The mixture of dialect backgrounds found in Belfast has no equivalence in Dublin English. Any dialects brought to Dublin by in-migration are lost by the following generation which accepts a non-local metropolitan variety, formerly mainstream, now the new pronunciation. Equally the shifts to be found in Derry English, such as the use of [-l-] for /-ð-/, do not correspond to any feature in Dublin or in the south of Ireland in general. In Dublin there is also a Protestant community but this is smaller than that in Derry (where it is also a minority, albeit a much larger one). This community is not focussed to anything like the extent in Northern Ireland and so there is no question of ethnicity playing a role in linguistic change in Dublin English.

A significant parallel which one could point to is the use of a retroflex [ɻ] in Ulster and Dublin. This is an established feature in the north whereas in Dublin English it is an innovation. An external influence from Ulster on the capital of the Republic of Ireland is highly improbable. Much more likely is the internal explanation which sees the rise of retroflexion as a reaction to the low rhoticity of local Dublin English, i.e. the retroflex [ɻ] has arisen autonomously in Dublin due to phonetic dissociation from vernacular forms of English in the city.

4.4 Dublin and London

At first sight, the recent developments in Dublin English might seem to be parallel to changes noted in southern British English, specifically in the region of London. The parallel in status between Dublin and London as capital cities is where the matter ends. This can be shown by considering for a moment what has come to be called 'Estuary English' (Coggle 1993, Altendorf 2003), a term coined by the David Rosewarne, David in a 1984 newspaper article and since used widely by the general public (the estuary referred to is that of the Thames). It is a label for a variety of English intermediate between RP and Cockney (Rosewarne 1984, 1994a, b; Wells 1994). The term is intended to highlight the fact that many non-working-class inhabitants of London and the Home Counties move on a cline between the two varieties just mentioned, especially as RP is not necessarily viewed positively by all social groups in present-day Britain.

Given its intermediate status, it is to be expected that Estuary English – inasmuch as it is can be determined – contains some features from Cockney but by no means all, otherwise it would be this variety. What is linguistically interesting is to consider which features of Cockney are dropped when moving up the variety cline in the direction of RP.

Table 4.6 *Cockney features not in Estuary English*

1) TH-fronting, e.g. *three* [friː]
2) H-dropping, e.g. *head* [ɛd]
3) MOUTH monophthong as in [mɛːθ]
4) Intervocalic glottalisation of /t/, e.g. *butter* [bʌʔə]

Table 4.7 *Estuary English features not in RP*

1) L-vocalisation, e.g. *milk* [mɪʊk]
2) Shift down and back for FACE, PRICE, GOAT diphthongs
3) Word-final and preconsonantal glottalisation

There may also be a few other minor features, such as the use of affricates for /tj/ and /dj/ in words like *tune* [tʃuːn] and *duke* [dʒuːk].

Estuary English can be viewed as a meeting point of two developments from opposing directions: (i) an upward trend of originally Cockney speech and (ii) a downward trend of RP speech which is increasingly regarded as posh and standoffish. Seen as a 'public school accent', RP can become more of a burden than an asset.

In the context of the present book, the essential point to emphasise is that Estuary English did not arise as the result of linguistic innovation. It is the product of accent convergence which, like external language change, is socially motivated, but it does not lead to the rise of new features, let alone of a new variety rather than just an intermediate one on an established cline. Nonetheless, one can show that both Estuary English and new Dublin English have some local features, but the latter consists of much more than this as the discussion in section II above have shown.

Table 4.8 *Local Dublin English features in new pronunciation*

1) AU-fronting, e.g. *house* [hæus]
2) low-central /aː/, *bland, glance* [blaːnd]
3) SOFT-lengthening, e.g. *soft* [sɒːft]
4) L-velarisation, e.g. *meal* [miːəɫ]
5) WHICH-voicing, e.g. *when* [wɛn]

The first two of these features are definitely archaic features of east coast dialects and are attested clearly further down the east coast, at least as far as Waterford (Hickey 2001a: 9f.). The history of the velarised /l/, [ɫ], is more difficult to determine as it has not been commented on by previous authors. Joyce (1979 [1910]), Hogan (1927), Henry (1958) do not discuss the realisations of laterals in Dublin English, in either contemporary or historical forms. Occasional older sources, such as Clery (1921) or Trench (1936), or later ones, like Watanabe (1987), are not any help in this context either. Alan Bliss is his studies of Irish English beginning in the early 1970s, e.g. Bliss (1972, 1976), does not mention *l*-velarisation, indeed he points to the general use of a clear /l/ which he sees as influence from the Irish language. Barry (1982) has no mention of the features of new Dublin English either, nor does Bliss in later studies such as Bliss (1984).

The reason for the retention of these features in more recent non-local varieties is probably that they are less salient than other features such as the centralisation of the /ai/ diphthong in local Dublin English. Of the five listed only /au/-fronting has been the object of negative comment recently, especially extreme case of this fronting, e.g. *about* [əˈbɛʊt].

4.5 New towns and new suburbs

In current research into varieties of British English, the question of dialect levelling plays a crucial role (Cheshire, Edwards and Whittle 1989). There are a number of reasons for this, primarily the influence of the south of England, above all London, on other urban centres throughout Britain. The situation in England is different from that in Ireland as there are major conurbations, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle or Sheffield with anything between a half and a million inhabitants. No such concentration is to be found in Ireland. Nonetheless, the role of the capital in the diffusion of features does play a comparable role in both countries. However, the existence of strong regional centres with local and supralocal linguistic norms (J. Milroy, L. Milroy and

Hartley 1994) – such as the north-east conurbation around Tyneside in England – does not have an equivalent in Ireland. Cities like Cork or Limerick do not have the status of Birmingham or Sheffield, for instance, nor are there clusters of large cities like Newcastle and Sunderland or Leeds and Bradford.

An urban scenario which, in some respects, does offer parallels with Dublin is that of the so-called 'New Towns' in which speakers from different dialect backgrounds have come to live and where a new generation has grown up. The best example of such a town is Milton Keynes – situated roughly 80 miles north/north-west of London between Luton and Northampton – which linguistically has been observed closely by Paul Kerswill (see Kerswill 1996a, 1996b, 2002; Williams and Kerswill 1997, 1999).

The striking fact about Milton Keynes is that all the older people come from somewhere else. There are Scots, Welsh and a fair spread of inhabitants from the English regions there. All of these brought their own forms of English with them and continued these after moving to the new town. But the children of these first inhabitants follow their peers linguistically and tend to speak a general south-eastern form of English (Kerswill 1996a), for instance showing the features listed in Table 4.7 for Estuary English.

In terms of demographic development the parallel to Milton Keynes in Ireland is formed by the large new suburbs in the north, west and south of Dublin. They have in common with Milton Keynes that there is a generation of migrants from regions far from Dublin, often rural or small town areas which these people left seeking improved employment in the capital. The children in such instances, like their contemporaries in Milton Keynes, use the general non-local form of English in the capital and show to varying degrees the vowel shift discussed above in the section on recent change in Dublin English. The sociolinguistic behaviour of the children of rural migrants in Dublin is essentially the same as those of new town settlers in England: they employ a general form of English similar to that of other young people in their surroundings. These children participate equally in the developments of Dublin English, indeed some of them overassimilate in their speech. A clear example of this was found by the author when recording Dublin English: one of the most advanced speakers in terms of vowel shifts turned out to be the daughter of parents who migrated from Fermoy in rural Co. Cork to Dublin in search of better employment.

4.6 Non-native Dublin English

Another area where new varieties of Dublin English may appear is that of non-native English. There are considerable numbers of emigrants now living more or less permanently in the capital and their acquisition of English as a second language may lead to forms of non-native Dublin English arising on a broad scale. However, for the rise of focussed second-language varieties it is necessary to have a relatively homogenous community with a single background language. This is the case, for instance, in the south-west United States which has considerable numbers of Spanish speakers from Mexico and Central American states, whose variety of English has come to be known as Chicano English (Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia 1985, Fought 2003). Appreciable numbers of Spaniards in Dublin are also to be found, many of whom work in the hospitality industry (pubs, restaurants, etc.). There are also other ethnic groups, many from former eastern block countries, such as Romania, the Ukraine, Lithuania who have been enticed to Ireland by job opportunities. It is, however, too early to say whether these groups will form closer knit communities within Dublin (or other parts of Ireland) and hence provide the social basis for the rise of new varieties of English, possibly becoming focussed in a following generation.

5 The grammar of Dublin English

The concern in this book thus far has been with phonology and it is with the current section that the attention is shifted to morphological and syntactic features of Dublin English. Much more than is the case with phonology, it is difficult to specify grammatical features of Dublin English which are not broadly shared by other varieties of Irish English, particularly in the Republic of Ireland. Bearing this fact in mind, the present section nonetheless attempts to outline those non-standard traits of grammar which are found in vernacular Dublin English without maintaining that these are exclusive to the capital.

The sample sentences quoted in the following paragraphs are frequently followed by the abbreviation (DER). This stands for *Dublin English Recordings* and refers to a fairly large body of hand-written data collected by the author since the late 1980s in Dublin. These recordings are not available on tape (and hence not on the CD-ROM) because permission to taperecord was not sought from the informants. In many cases a name was contained in a structure which was deemed linguistically important. In order to ensure that an individual cannot be identified a pronoun or a fictitious name has been used instead.

5.1 Morphology

In the area of morphology, the main non-standard feature is the distinction between second singular and plural personal pronouns (Hickey 1983, 2003d, Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1994). This is obviously a conservative trait of Dublin English (and other vernacular forms of Irish English), certainly when one considers the retention of the older second person plural nominative pronoun *ye* which is quite acceptable in mainstream varieties. There are two further forms for the plural both of which arose through regular plural formation: *youse* < *you* + {S} and *yez* < *ye* + {S}. The latter forms are stigmatised and more typical of strongly local varieties of Dublin English (see section 1.4 *Features of local Dublin accents* above). *Youse* and *yez* can be taken to be productive formations reached by the morphological analysis of other regular plurals. In historical forms of mainland English these seem not to be attested and, for instance, do not occur in such extensive corpora of late Middle / early Modern English correspondence as that compiled by Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (see Nevalainen 1997) nor do they occur anywhere in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Kytö 1993). These non-standard nominative forms also occur in the possessive, e.g. *yeer* [jir], *yer* [jər]. They are attested in written Irish English at least since the middle of the 19th century, see section III 3.1 *The plays of Dion Boucicault* above. The pronunciation of the second person plural pronoun moves along a cline from a full [ji] vowel through a more centralised realisation, [jɪ], to a schwa [jə]. Examples: *What are ye at, ye lazy fecker? Will yez give over the larking and get on with the job* (DER).

Another feature of morphology which would seem to have arisen through regular extension of an existing structure is the occurrence of epistemic negative *must*, e.g. *He musn't be at home now* (DER), where the negative is modelled on the positive whereas in standard English the former is expressed using *can't*, i.e. *He can't be at home now*.

When considering non-standard features of a particular variety, the relative uniqueness of traits must be addressed. This can be seen clearly with the non-standard use of the oblique personal pronoun *them* as a demonstrative, e.g. *Them forms we got in the post* (DER), or with singular nouns after numerals, e.g. *He paid twenty pound for the meal* (DER). These are such widespread features of non-standard English that they can in no way be taken as indicative of Dublin English although they are widely attested there and are found in literary representations, see again the section on the plays of Boucicault below. Another example of this type of feature is to be seen in the reduced number of verb forms in Dublin English. The most common occurrences are with the verbs *do* and *see* which regularly have the preterite *done* and *seen* respectively, e.g. *He done some work, She seen her friend out with yer man* (DER). These are widely found in other varieties of Irish English, including those in the north of Ireland (Henry 1995, 1997) and are of course found in many varieties of English outside of Ireland (Cheshire 1993; Lass 1993). The tokens for this kind of reduction may be slightly more numerous in vernacular Dublin English, for instance, it extends to *throw* and *take* as well, e.g. *She thrown her arms around her, He's took her away from mi mother* (DER). The suppletive preterite of *go*, *went*, is also found as a past participle, e.g. *I've never went there in my life* (DER).

5.2 Syntax

The most striking syntactic characteristics of Dublin English are from the area of aspect (Kallen 1989, Hickey 2000b). At least three types can be distinguished as shown in the following table.

Table 5.1 *Aspectual distinctions in Dublin English*

1)	Immediate perfective		
	a.	*He's after breaking his leg.*	*after* + V-*ing*
		Tá sé tar éis a chos a briseadh.	
		[is he after his leg COMP breaking]	
2)	Resultative perfective		
	a.	*They have the boat built.*	O + PP
	b.	*They have built a boat with the money.*	PP + O
3)	Habitual perfective		
	a.	*She does be worrying about the children.*	*do* + *be* + V-*ing*
	b.	*She bees worrying about the children.* (?)	*bees* + V-*ing*

The first type is obviously a calque on Irish, a view which is generally shared by the authors in the field of Irish English who have considered the matter (Filppula 1999: 99-107, Harris 1984, 1993, Hickey 1995; see Greene 1979 and Ó Sé 1992, 2004 for a discussion of Irish sources). It is found in all varieties of Irish English and is widespread in Ulster English as well.

The second type would appear to have two sources. On the one hand the word order Object plus Past Participle corresponds to that of earlier forms of English (van der Wurff and Foster 1997) and may well have been typical of forms transported to Ireland in the early 17th century at the beginning of the early modern period. On the other hand this word order it is also that of Irish as the Irish equivalent to (2a) shows: *Tá an bád tógáilte acu.* [is the boat built at-them]. A detailed discussion of the resultative perfective is offered by Filppula (1999: 107-15), labelled by him the *medial-object perfect*, which he contrasts with the *final-object perfect*. By examining the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* he showed that by 1500 the occurrence of the former had declined very considerably and the latter had increased proportionately. In his conclusion (Filppula 1999: 116) he states that the Irish pattern played a 'significant, and not merely reinforcing, role' in the use of the *medial-object perfect* in Irish English.

In present-day Dublin English there is a conscious contrast between a word-order with the past participle before the object and one after it. Semantically, the order 'object plus past participle' implies that an action was planned and carried out, hence the term 'resultative perfective', see (2a) above. The preferred reading of sentences like (2a) is as a resultative perfective. A causative interpretation is only possible in Irish English when an agent is specified, e.g. *They had the boat built by their two cousins*. The causative furthermore requires the past tense whereas the resultative perfective, as it expresses a state, is found in the present. The word order 'past participle plus object' is aspectually unmarked (see 2b) as in other varieties of English.

The habitual perfective is an established feature of all vernacular varieties of Irish English. The differences between varieties lies in its manifestation of which there are two main forms. The first is seen in (3a) where an inflected form of *do* is followed by *be* and a continuous form of the lexical verb in question. This structure may have been inherited from earlier varieties of English as it has well-known parallels in south-west British English and may have been supported by a refunctionalisation of periphrastic *do* from the 17th century onwards. However, in south-west British English an uninflected form of *do* occurs with a lexical verb as in *He do fish a lot* (Klemola 1996). The lack of inflection corresponds to the situation in south-east Ireland (Hickey 2001a) but the absence of *be* makes the English situation essentially different from that in Ireland.

The habitual in (3a) above frequently involves the cliticisation of *does* on *be*, e.g. *He does be out drinking a lot* [ˈhɪ dəbɪ ˈɛʊt ...], where the combined form is unstressed. This is a feature which Dublin English shares with vernacular varieties along the east coast and is attested in Waterford, for example, see Hickey (2001a). The combined form can also have past reference, consider *Those days* [hɪ dəbɪ] *off on his rounds at six in the morning* (DER).

The status of an inflected form of *be* for the habitual is uncertain. It is definitely characteristic of the north of Ireland (Montgomery and Kirk 1996).

By the mid 19th century it had been noted by Irish scholar O'Donovan in his *A Grammar of the Irish language* (1845) who mentions the attempts of the Irish to produce an equivalent to the habitual of Irish (his consuetudinal present): "... The Irish attempt to introduce this tense even into English, as 'he bees', 'he does be', &c." (O'Donovan 1845: 151). It is not sure whether O'Donovan, a native of Kilkenny in the east of Ireland, was referring solely to northern Irish usage when he quoted 'he bees' as he makes no remarks on geographical occurrence of the two possible forms. Suffice it to say that the structure in (3b) does not seem to occur in Dublin English. The remarks of earlier authors such as P. W. Joyce (Joyce 1979 [1910]) may reflect a usage no longer present or a conflation of northern and southern usage. It should be mentioned here that the best literary representation of conservative Dublin English, Sean O'Casey's early plays, do not contain any examples of *bees* but many of *does be* (see section III 3.2 *The plays of Sean O'Casey* below). The *bees* structure also scored a very low acceptability value (under 2%) in *A Survey of Irish English Usage* for Dublin (see section 5.3 below). This compares with 22% for Belfast.

The question of the source for *do(es) be* habituals in Irish English has occupied many scholars in the field. There are basically three accounts: (i) substratal influence from Irish, (ii) superstratal influence from input varieties of early modern English and (iii) universalist accounts which favour an independent origin due to the foregrounding of aspectual distinctions in a language contact scenario characterised by adult second language acquisition without instruction (Hickey 1995, 1997a; see also the detailed discussion in Corrigan 1993). Despite his long consideration of corpus data (Filppula 1999: 130-50), Filppula is noncommittal in his conclusion (Filppula 1999: 148-50). He finally opts for 'the safest option: multiple causation' (Filppula 1999: 149) with factors (i) – (iii) all playing a role. While this author assumes that the three factors just outlined may well have been operative together, the role of substratal influence must be highlighted here, especially when one makes the necessary distinction, which other authors do not, between the habitual as a category and the exponence of this category in Irish and English. In a situation of language shift with a long period of bilingualism, as was characteristic of Ireland throughout the early modern period, the native speakers of Irish would searched for categorial equivalence in English to the habitual of their first language, Irish. As there is no direct formal equivalent – the habitual in Irish is expressed using a special verb form *bíonn* – speakers may well have refunctionalised the afunctional, unstressed declarative *do*, as in *He does work on the land*, which was probably still present in west English input varieties in the early 17th century but semantically empty. The notion of progression, which is implicit in the habitual and formally expressed in Irish, is encoded by using the progressive form, hence the form *He does be working on the land*, compare the Irish equivalent *Bíonn sé ag obair ar an dtalamh* [be-HABITUAL he at work-PROGRESSIVE on the land]. This argument can be, and has been, applied to the development of *do*-based habituals in forms of Caribbean English – see Hickey (2004a) for a detailed discussion – and at the very least offers a principled account for how the verb *do* could have come to be recruited for the expression of the habitual in Irish English (Hickey 1995, 1997, 2000b) and by extension in Dublin English.

The pragmatics of aspect in Dublin English As many authors such as Kallen (1989, 1991) and Hickey (2000b) have noted, the immediate perfective aspect listed under (1a) above has a high informational value associated with it. This pragmatic component may give the clue to analysing the differentiation made by speakers in their use of the immediate and resultative perfect (1b). The latter implies that the speaker was aware the action was either being carried out or at least pending. This does not hold for the immediate perfective which is apparently why the term 'hot news' enjoys such popularity among authors on the subject (McCoard 1978).

(1) a. *Máire is after wetting herself.* (DER)
I know.
b. *I'm after finishing my homework.* (DER)
Ah, you don't say.

There are shades of meaning involved with both types of perfectives which make them mutually exclusive in certain situations. For instance, an implication of the resultative perfect is that the goal of the action is intended and, importantly, known to the person(s) listening whereas the immediate perfective often contains an element of surprise, hence the ungrammaticality of the first of each pair of the following sentences.

(2) a. **He's the soup bowl dropped.*
He's after dropping the soup bowl. Irish English
He's dropped the soup bowl! non-Irish English
b. **They've the window broken.*
They're after breaking the window. Irish English
They've broken the window! non-Irish English

Further syntactic features There are a number of other non-standard features to be found in Dublin English, apart from the aspectual distinctions just discussed. In the verbal area one can mention the greater range of the present tense, e.g. *I know him for more than six years now* (DER), where standard

English would expect the present perfect. Another verbal feature is the use of *be* as auxiliary, e.g. *They're finished the ring road now* (DER). There is also a comparative lack of *do* in questions, e.g. *Have you had your breakfast yet?* (DER) as opposed to *Did you have your breakfast yet?* Indeed there may be a correlation here between the use of *do* for the habitual and its under-representation in interrogative structures.

Negative concord, the use of a negative for all elements of a clause which can be negated, is a common feature of Dublin English, as in Irish English and non-standard varieties of English in general, e.g. *He's not interested in no girls* (DER). Another trait, linked to negation, is the use of *never* for singular time reference, e.g. *She never rang yesterday evening* (DER), which is found in many other varieties of English.

Non-standard subject concord rules apply to Dublin English and, going on the evidence of O'Casey and Boucicault (see the relevant sections in III below), have a considerable history in the English of the capital. It is frequent to find singular concord with first and third person plural subjects, e.g. *Them men is not going to finish that job* (DER). With existential *there*, the singular is almost universal in vernacular Dublin English. Indeed when doing the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* many speakers from Dublin read the test sentence *There're a lot of people outside* with a singular verb, i.e. they started with *There's ...*

With infinitives of purpose *for to* can be found, e.g. *They was at the bank for to get a mortgage* (DER). With a small set of verbs, the infinitive without 'to' is normal as in the following instances.

(3) a. *She allowed him drive the car.* (DER)
b. *They used make me stay in my room for hours.* (DER)
c. *Will he come see us in the spring?* (DER)

The imperative is found with the continuous form, as in *Don't be teasing your brother* (DER). This would appear to be an influence from Irish where the continuous is found in this context. Irish influence may also have been operative in the rise of indirect questions which maintain the word order of the direct question (embedded inversion, Filppula 1999: 167-178), e.g. *She asked him was he interested* (DER).

A syntactic feature which is very likely the result of convergence from Irish and English inputs is the use of *on* (Filppula 1999: 219-26) to express relevance of an action to an individual as in the following examples.

(4) a. *The fire went out on him.* (DER)
b. *He crashed the car on her.* (DER)

The definite article with nouns used in generic senses or with institutions, organisations and the like is a prominent trait of Irish English in general (Filppula 1999: 56-77). Some of these instances, such as the last below, have parallel Irish structures and are rather stigmatised.

(5) a. *He likes the life in Galway.* (DER)
b. *She has to go to the hospital for a check-up.* (DER)
c. *Their youngest son is good at the maths.* (DER)
d. *I suppose the both of us should go.* (DER)

Non-standard clausal features are also present in vernacular Dublin English. An example would be clefting which is used for topicalisation purposes, e.g. *It's to Derry he's going* (DER). Another trait is the use of *till* in the sense of 'in order that', e.g. *Come here till I tell you* (DER). Finally one can mention subordinating *and* (frequently concessive), e.g. *They took him on and he not finished school yet* (DER), a feature common in rural varieties (Filppula 1991, 1999: 196-207) and occurring (recessively) in local Dublin English.

Currency and stigmatisation of non-standard features In the above paragraphs grammatical features have been listed without stating whether they occur only in vernacular Dublin English or in more mainstream varieties in the city. In the present section an attempt is made to divide these features into one of three categories, (i) recessive, (ii) stigmatised and (iii) mainstream. These divisions are only approximate and the alignment of forms within them rests ultimately on the judgement of the author as a native of Dublin. The divisions most certainly varied in the past, for instance, some features which were recessive in the early 20th century have disappeared now. An example for this is the lack of negator contraction found in the plays of O'Casey, e.g. *I'll not wait much longer* (see section III 3.2 *The plays of Sean O'Casey* below), a feature apparently not found in Dublin English (although it nonetheless achieved an acceptability score of 31% in *A Survey of Irish English Usage*, see below). Some of the traits are stigmatised if they are the sole forms in a speaker's speech, but not if they are employed deliberately by mainstream speakers for vernacularisation effects. This applies above all to the second person plural forms *youse / yez*.

Table 5.2 *Status of non-standard features in Dublin English*

Recessive features
  1) subordinating *and*
  2) *for to* infinitives

Stigmatised features
  1) *youse / yez* for second person plural
  2) *them* as demonstrative pronoun
  2) *do(es) be* habitual
  3) inflection on plural verb forms

Mainstream features
  1) *ye* for second person plural
  2) *after* + V*ing* perfective
  3) resultative perfective (object + past particle word order)
  4) extended present for present perfect
  5) singular reference *never*
  6) clefting for topicalisation
  7) embedded inversion
  8) relevance expressed by *on* + pronoun
  9) moderate over-use of definite article

Sources of features During the 1990s scholars in the field came to gradually accept contact as a source of specific features in Irish English (Hickey 1995), not for ideological reasons, as often previously, but from a better understanding of the mechanisms of language contact and language shift, not least due to authors taking on board the ideas of other linguists examining contact in general. This renewed consideration of language contact was found elsewhere with scholars considering the history of English, most noticeably in the seminal monograph, Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Convergence scenarios came to seen as valid models for the development of varieties like Irish English which showed both language contact and non-standard dialect input in their histories (Filppula 1990, 1993). It is not an exaggeration to say that a new standard wisdom arose with contact and retention occupying places of equal standing in the history of Irish English. In addition to this scholars also considered the nature of the language shift environment and proposed that general aspects of uncontrolled second language acquisition by adults – the scenario for the transition from Irish to English over several centuries – may well have had an influence on the rise of structures in the new language shift variety of English in Ireland (Corrigan 1993, Hickey 1997c, Siemund 2004). The scenario of uncontrolled second language acquisition is one in which such features as pragmatic highlighting (through clefting) or the promotion of aspectual distinctions or, in general, the use of formally simpler syntactic structures, such as the present tense for the present perfect of English, are at a premium.

Apart from the putative source of specifically Irish English features there have been various suggestions concerning the linguistic models to use in interpreting such features. For instance, in the area of aspect there have been attempts to use grammaticalisation models (Kallen 1989, 1990) and prototype theory (Hickey 2000b) to arrive at a satisfactory description of the linguistic facts.

Table 5.3 *Possible sources of grammatical features found in Dublin English*

Morphological features	
Distinct pronominal forms for 2 p. sg. + pl.	Convergence of English input and Irish
Epistemic negative *must*	Generalisation made by Irish based on positive use
Them as demonstrative	English input only
Syntactic features	
Habitual aspect	Convergence with south-west English input on east coast, possibly with influence from Scots via Ulster. Otherwise transfer of category from Irish
Immediate perfective aspect with *after*	Transfer from Irish
Resultative perfective with OV word order	Possible convergence, primarily from Irish
Subordinating *and*	Transfer from Irish
Variant use of suffixal *-s* in present	South-west input in first period on east coast
Clefting for topicalisation	Transfer from Irish, with some possible convergence
Greater range of the present tense	Transfer from Irish, with some possible convergence
Negative concord	Convergence of English input and Irish
Non-standard subject concord	English input only

For to infinitives indicating purpose	Convergence of English input and Irish
Reduced number of verb forms	English input only
Be as auxiliary	English input only
Single time reference for *never*	Transfer from Irish, English input

5.3 A Survey of Irish English Usage

This survey was carried out in order to gain a picture of the relative acceptance of vernacular structures among the younger generation of Irish today. The complete survey covered the 32 counties of Ireland. For the survey a questionnaire with some 57 sample sentences, each of which contained a structure known to occur in varieties of Irish English, was used. Informants were asked to give their reaction to each sentence as it might be used in casual speech among friends. They were told that the survey was about colloquial speech, not written English. The questionnaire was only done in groups of two or more as informants tended to be much less prescriptive in groups than as individuals. The vast majority of informants were in the 18-30 age bracket.

Approximately 80% of returned questionnaires were actually used. There are over 1,000 questionnaires, collected over a period of two years, which were acceptable (1,017 in all). Informants were then classified by age and sex. A fifth of these, 205 to be precise, stem from Dublin (100 female, 105 male). The criterion for acceptance was the following: each questionnaire must have all three categories used, e.g. any informant who ticked 'no problem' for all sentences was ignored as well as anyone who said that all sentences were 'a bit strange' or 'unacceptable' as this showed a lack of discrimination on the part of the individual in question. The spread among categories must have been at least 10%. Naturally, all sentences must have been evaluated and the questionnaires of those informants who inserted prescriptive comments were ignored. The headings of the questionnaire, to be seen in table 5.4 below and indicating the structures being investigated, were not included in the version given to informants.

The answers on the questionnaires have been incorporated into databases and linked up with appropriate software with which to examine these databases and hence view the relative acceptance of certain grammatical structures in Dublin English. The software to use for this purpose can be accessed in the Java version of the programme *Discover Dublin English* on the accompanying CD-ROM. There is a branch in the tree, entitled *Survey of Irish English Usage*, which is shown on loading the programme. The node *Analyse Dublin data* in this branch allows access to the Dublin data from *A Survey of*

Irish English Usage. The Windows version of *Discover Dublin English* can also be used to access the same data. In the *Programmes* menu on the desktop the first option *Survey of Irish English Usage* (shortcut: F8) will load a programme with which one can examine the data directly.

Table 5.4 *Structure of questionnaire used for* A Survey of Irish English Usage

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The four categories which informants could avail of in their evaluation (by checking a box) were the following:

1) no problem 2) a bit strange
3) unacceptable 4) something else, short comment:

Test person ☐ male ☐ female
☐ under 18 ☐ 18 - 30 ☐ over 30 ☐ over 40
home county:

How do you find the following sentences (in casual speech among your friends)?

Morphology

Second person plural

(1) *What are youse up to?* (plural form for *you*, 1)
(2) *What were yez up to?* (plural form for *you*, 2)
(3) *Are ye going out tonight?* (plural form for *you*, 3)

Negation of auxiliaries

(4) *Amn't I leaving soon anyway?* (negative of 1 p sg of *be*, 1)
(5) *Aren't I right after all?* (negative of 1 p sg of *be*, 2)

Demonstrative pronouns

(6) *Them shoes are too small for me.* (*them* as demonstrative pronoun)

Syntax

Aspectual distinctions

Habitual aspect

(7) *She does be worrying about the children.* (habitual with *do be*)
(8) *They bees up late at night.* (habitual with inflected *be*)
(9) *I gets awful anxious about the kids at night.* (habitual with inflected verb)
(10) *His uncle does be a hard worker.* (habitual as character attribute)

Immediate perfective

(11) *She's after spilling the milk.* (immediate perfective)

Resultative perfective

(12) *She has the housework done.* (resultative perfective)

Tense range and forms

Extended present

(13) *I know her for five years now.* (range of present tense)

Present-tense marking

(14) *Some farmers has little or no cattle.* (*s*-marking on 3rd per pl, 1)
(15) *John and his wife plays bingo at the weekend.* (*s*-marking on 3rd per pl, 1)

Singular existential

(16) *There was two men on the road.* (singular existential)

Epistemic negative

(17) *He was born here so he musn't be Scottish.* (epistemic negative *must*)

Past tense verb forms

(18) *I seen him yesterday.* (preterite of *see*)
(19) *They done all the work for us.* (preterite of *do*)

'For to' infinitives

(20) *He went to Dublin for to buy a car.* (*for to* infinitives)

'Be' auxiliary

(21) *They're finished the work now.* (*be* as an auxiliary)

Infinitive without 'to'

(22) *She allowed him drive the car.* (infinitive without *to*)
(23) *They used make me stay in my room for hours.* (infinitive without *to*)
(24) *Will he come see us in the spring?* (infinitive without *to*)

Uninflected auxiliaries

(25) *He don't like me staying up late.* (uninflected auxiliary *do*)
(26) *I suppose he have his work done now.* (uninflected auxiliary *have*)

Conditional modals

(27) *It looks as if it might rain, doesn't it?* (*might* as conditional)

Imperatives with continuous form

(28) *Don't be teasing your brother.* (imperative with continuous form)

Interrogative 'do'-support

(29) *Do you have any matches on you?* (*do* support in questions)

Copula deletion

(30) *She a teacher in the new college.* (copula deletion)

Double modals

(31) *He might could come after all* (double modal)

Verb complements

(32) *My hair needs washed.* (*need* + past participle)

Negation

Negative concord

(33) *He's not interested in no girls.* (negative concord)

Lack of negative attraction

(34) *Everyone didn't want to hear them.* (lack of negative attraction)

Negator contraction

(35) *I'll not wait any longer for him.* (lack of negator contraction)

Singular reference 'never'

(36) *She never rang yesterday evening.* (singular time reference *never*)

Clause structure

Relative clause marking

(37) *I know a farmer that rears sheep.* (*that* animate relative)

(38) *I know a farmer rears sheep.* (zero relative)
(39) *I know a farmer what rears sheep.* (*what* animate relative)

Front clefting

(40) *It's to Glasgow he's going tomorrow.* (clefting for topicalisation)

Subordinating 'and'

(41) *We went for a walk and it raining.* (subordinating *and*)

Embedded inversion

(42) *She asked him was he interested.* (inversion in embedded questions, *yes/no*-type)
(43) *He asked who had she spoken to.* (inversion in embedded questions, *wh*-type)

Relevance via *on* + pronoun

(44) *The fire went out on him.* (expression of relevance via *on* + pronoun)
(45) *He crashed the car on her.* (expression of relevance via *on* + pronoun)

Determiners, numerals

Over-use of definite article

(46) *He likes the life in Galway.* (over-use of definite article, 1)

(47) *She has to go to the hospital for a check-up.* (over-use of definite article, 2)
(48) *Their youngest son is good at the maths.* (over-use of definite article, 3)
(49) *I suppose the both of us should go.* (over-use of definite article, 4)

Singular after numerals

(50) *He paid twenty pound for the meal.* (singular after numeral)

Unbound reflexives

(51) *Himself is not in today.* (unbound reflexive)

Adverbs, focus markers

Adverb marking

(52) *The work is real difficult.* (unmarked adverbs)

'Till' for 'until'

(53) *Come here till I tell you.* (*till* for *until*)

Sentence-final focus markers

(54) *She's hard-working, like.* (*like* as final focus marker)
(55) *He's gone to the races, but?* (*but* as final focus marker)

Appendix: Contrasting English usage

(56) *Did you used to cycle to school?*	(*do* support with *use*)
(57) *I shall have to leave soon.*	(use of *shall* in future)

Awareness of grammatical structures varied greatly among participants. Many of them asked the author what was 'strange' or 'wrong' or 'particularly Irish' about a certain structure. This showed that speakers' perception of non-standard structures in their variety of English varied considerably. For instance, many participants in the survey saw nothing strange in (1) *I know her for five years now* (extended present) or (2) *She has the housework done* (resultative perfect with OV word order) or (3) *They're finished the work now* ('be' as an auxiliary). On the other hand other structures were obviously very salient for speakers, such as (1) *I seen him yesterday* (past participle as preterite) or (2) *Them shoes are too small for me* ('them' as demonstrative pronoun).

Table 5.2 *Acceptability of vernacular structures by Dubliners (n = 205)*

Test sentence	Classified as 'no problem'	
1) *What are youse up to?*	160	78.05%
2) *What were yez up to?*	139	67.80%
3) *Are ye going out tonight?*	159	77.56%
4) *Them shoes are too small for me.*	42	20.49%
5) *She does be worrying about the children.*	37	18.05%
6) *They bees up late at night.*	4	1.95%
7) *I gets awful anxious about the kids at night.*	22	10.73%
8) *She's after spilling the milk.*	179	87.32%
9) *She has the housework done.*	191	93.17%
10) *I know her for five years now.*	154	75.12%
11) *John and his wife plays bingo at the weekend.*	33	16.10%
12) *There was two men on the road.*	96	46.83%
13) *He was born here so he musn't be Scottish.*	154	75.12%
14) *I seen him yesterday.*	73	35.61%
15) *They done all the work for us.*	52	25.37%
16) *He went to Dublin for to buy a car.*	11	5.37%
17) *They're finished the work now.*	164	80.00%
18) *She allowed him drive the car.*	119	58.05%
19) *They used make me stay in my room for hours.*	91	44.39%
20) *Will he come see us in the spring?*	147	71.71%

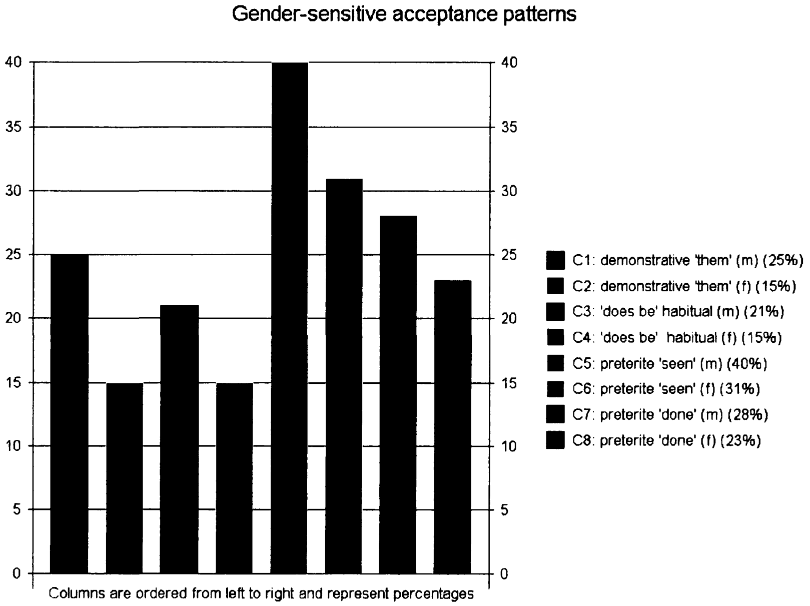
21) *He don't like me staying up late.*	14	6.83%
22) *I suppose he have his work done now.*	11	5.37%
23) *Don't be teasing your brother.*	182	88.78%
24) *Everyone didn't want to hear them.*	38	18.54%
25) *I'll not wait any longer for him.*	63	30.73%
26) *She never rang yesterday evening.*	158	77.07%
27) *It's to Glasgow he's going tomorrow.*	27	13.17%
28) *We went for a walk and it raining.*	19	9.27%
29) *She asked him was he interested.*	181	88.29%
30) *He asked who had she spoken to.*	117	57.07%
31) *The fire went out on him.*	123	60.00%
32) *He crashed the car on her.*	101	49.27%
33) *He likes the life in Galway.*	149	72.68%
34) *She has to go to the hospital for a check-up.*	197	96.10%
35) *Their youngest son is good at the maths.*	72	35.12%
36) *I suppose the both of us should go.*	158	77.07%
37) *Come here till I tell you.*	146	71.22%

In general, the above results reflect vernacular English usage in Dublin. One can immediately see that the non-standard second person plural pronouns were accepted by more than two thirds of the test persons, showing that these occur in colloquial speech even for mainstream speakers. Compare this acceptance with that for *them* as a demonstrative, only 20%.

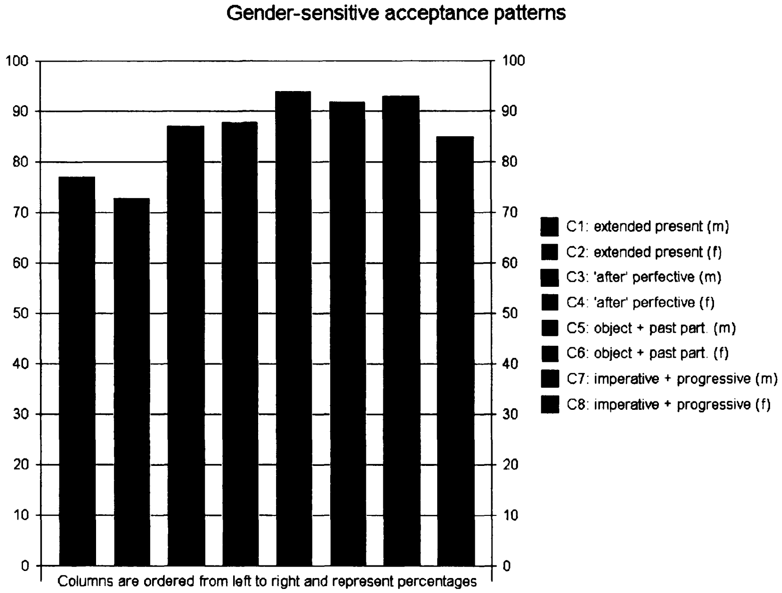
Structures like the immediate perfective and the resultative perfective (items 8 and 9) show scores of around 90%. The use of *be* as auxiliary (item 17) at 80% acceptance is obviously a central structure of Dublin English. At 88% the use of the progressive in the imperative is also a commonly accepted trait as is inversion of embedded questions with the same value (items 23 and 29 respectively). Other features like the overuse of the definite article and the use of *on* to express relevance show high degrees of acceptance. Even such clearly vernacular features as *seen* and *done* as preterites were accepted by about 30% of test persons. The degree of salience for a feature definitely influences acceptance. For instance, some 75% of test persons accepted the extended present (item 10), indeed many asked what was supposed to be wrong with the sentence. A similar explanation can be given for the use of *allow* with a bare infinitival complement (item 18) at 58%.

The features classified as recessive in the discussion above attained low acceptance values, subordinating *and* (item 28) with 9% and *for to* infinitives (item 16) with 5%.

Gender-sensitive acceptance patterns Of the 205 test persons from Dublin in the survey approximately half were male (n = 105) and half female (n = 100). By and large one can say that the males among the test persons showed a greater acceptance of vernacular structures. For instance, the use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun was accepted by 25% of males but only 15% of females. The *does be* habitual was accepted by 21% of males but by only 15% of females. A number of these structures and their gender-sensitive values have been assembled in the following bar chart.


Gender-sensitive acceptance patterns

An interesting result derived from the present survey is that where features have low salience and are non-stigmatised, the difference between male and female acceptance ratings in relative terms is slight, indeed in one case the female rating was higher than that for males. A selection of non-salient features and their values from the Dublin subset of the survey can be seen in the following chart.



6 The vocabulary of Dublin English

There is no doubt that the vocabulary of present-day Dublin English is highly productive and that Dubliners revel in the creation and use of new terms in their vernacular. In general this vocabulary is racy and irreverent and not always fit for use on public occasions. Indeed there is hardly a vernacular which is less 'politically correct' than Dublin English. The creative sections of the vocabulary is largely driven by young males and can be quite misogynist, not to say homophobic and racist. Its use is part of a culture of verbal banter, just consider the number of words below designating foolishness and general ineptitude, one of which has indeed spread beyond Ireland, i.e. *ommadawn* 'fool' (< Irish *amadán*).

Outsiders react in different ways to this kind of language: some are appalled at the frequently scatological and sexist character of Dublin English while others find it vibrant and vivacious. The use of less than respectful vocabulary by men should be seen as a component of their social behaviour which includes strong drinking habits and the projection of a 'rough and tough' image of masculinity. It is interesting to note that the productive elements of Dublin English vocabulary are associated with vernacular accents and not with the new pronunciation which tends to be 'lexically genteel'.

The creation of vocabulary in Dublin English makes use of a number of sources and devices:

1) metonymic and metaphorical expansion of standard English lexis
2) retentions of English dialect input
3) lexicalised vernacular pronunciations
4) continuing use of items ultimately from Irish
5) productive morphological processes

Before offering examples it is important to stress that many of the instances given below are not confined to Dublin English alone. In other urban centres around the country – Cork, Limerick, Galway, etc. – these terms would certainly be understood and often used. Items which have a background in Irish are very likely to occur in other varieties, including many rural ones.

Dublin English furthermore shows many general features of Irish lexical usage (Hickey in press), such as the confusion between words which are complementary in meaning: *ditch* for *dyke*, the interchangeability of *bring* and *take*, *rent* and *let*, *borrow* and *lend* and the use of *learn* for *teach* (on a lower stylistic level), a usage which has a long tradition in English and is found in Shakespeare.

The discussion of vocabulary in this section is not intended to be exclusive, i.e. to deal with lexis which is confined to Dublin English alone. Because of the status of Dublin as capital in a very centrally organised state, its vocabulary is well known beyond the confines of the city.

A Dublin contribution to English lexis? It might seem somewhat odd to maintain this, but it may be justified on one count. There is a report that Richard Daly (d. 1813), actor and manager of the Crow Street Theatre in Dublin, made a bet in 1791 that he could add a new word to the English language overnight. The following morning there was a strange piece of graffiti – showing the word *quiz* – on many walls in Dublin and Daly won the bet and the English language was made richer by a word which has proved popular since and which it has exported to many other languages.

This anecdote is recounted by B. H. Smart in his elocutionary work - *Walker remodelled* (1836). Attractive as this story is, it must be doubted, and the anecdote is omitted from Smart's edition of 1840. The doubts are also shared by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2002, version 3.0 on CD-ROM. The word *quiz* is attested in a diary entry for 24 June 1782 by Fanny Burney (1752-

1840) and so predates the Daly story by nine years. Fanny Burney was acquainted with Irish authors, like the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan and records her meetings with many of them in her later diaries, but this is not /enough to dispel the doubts about a Dublin origin for *quiz*.

6.1 Studies of the Irish English lexicon

The study of Irish English vocabulary from a more or less linguistic perspective can be said to begin with Joyce (1979 [1910]) and Clark (1977 [1917]). The first work is more general in its scope and rests on Joyce's considerable knowledge of Irish and local history. Clark's study is a single piece of scholarship from a writer about whom little is known. In later work on Irish English, such as Hogan (1927), there are remarks on vocabulary. It was not until after the Second World War with the work of Patrick Leo Henry, somewhat dated now but seminal at the time, that renewed interest in the vocabulary of Irish English was registered. During the 1960s focus shifted to the north with studies by Adams and Braidwood (see reference section). Towards the end of the decade Alan Bliss in Dublin began his series of many articles on Irish English – including lexical questions – which established his reputation in the field. The 1970s and 1980s saw a few reprints, for instance, of Barnes/Poole's glossary and Clark (1977 [1917]). The 1990s and 2000s have seen a considerable expansion in this field. Christensen (1996), Dolan (1998), Moylan (1996), Ó Muirithe (1996a, 1996b and 1997, 2004), and Share (2003 [1997]) continue the tradition of word-collecting (of these Dolan and Share is the most thorough). Görlach (1995) and Kallen (1996, 1997) have participated in research into the Irish English lexicon, Kallen's contributions being the linguistically most significant of all recent publications.

There is no one dictionary of Dublin English (as opposed to Cork, see Beecher 1983) but the area is served well by recent publications, above all Dolan (1998, 2nd edition 2005) and Share (2003 [1997]), just mentioned. The study by Ua Bróin (1944) is concerned with rural vocabulary in the vicinity of Dublin.

6.2 Treatment of English lexis

The most straightforward aspect of Dublin English vocabulary is seen with words and phrases which represent extensions or particular usages of standard English lexis. The best known example must be the word *grand* which is used as a general term of approval and has a very high frequency in Dublin speech.

This is followed closely by items like *gas* 'fun, entertainment', *shower* 'group of people', *yoke* 'thing, device' which also retain their standard meanings and *hames*, ME 'pieces forming collar on a horse', now used figuratively as 'complete failure, mess' (Dolan 1998: 137). There are some phrases which have a specific Irish connection, e.g. *the black stuff* 'Guinness' or a clear literary reference, e.g. *Bloomsday* '16 June 1904' (day portrayed in James Joyce's *Ulysses*). The following is a selection of other items: *blow-in* 'recent arrival in Dublin', *dab hand* 'expert', *dogs in the street* 'everyone', *game ball* 'perfect, in good order', *glass* 'half pint', *jacked* 'exhausted', *kip* 'dishevelled place', *kip down* 'bunk down, sleep', *mallet head* 'fool', *notions* 'airs and graces', *press* 'cupboard', *shag all* 'nothing at all', *screwed* 'in trouble', *shook* 'disturbed, in bad shape'.

Augmentative adjectives and adverbs As might be expected by a vernacular which is characterised by verbal banter, terms which augment what is being said are frequent (a certain Irish tendency towards exaggeration can be observed here). When used as adverbs these words are regularly unmarked.

Examples: *black* 'crowded', e.g. *The town was black that afternoon*; *brutal* 'very bad', e.g. *His game was brutal*; *dead loss* 'useless' (predicative use only), e.g. *Your man's a dead loss*; *destroyed* 'exhausted', e.g. *I'm destroyed with the digging*; *diabolical* 'dire, disastrous'; *distracted* 'distraught', e.g. *He was distracted after her accident*; *fierce* 'very strong, very much so', e.g. *He was fierce interested in the Dooley sisters*; *pure* 'completely', *I'm pure robbed with the rent*; *massive* 'impressive'; *mighty* 'impressive'; *perishing* 'very cold'; *poxy* 'egregious', e.g. *I wouldn't sing with that poxy voice of his*; *right* 'definite, certain', e.g. *They're a right shower of crooks*; *savage* 'very impressive'; *rushin'* 'in a hurry'; *septic* 'awful'; *smashin'* 'very good'; *steeped* 'very affluent', e.g. *The Keoghs are steeped.*

Deliberately skewed forms There is a long tradition in Dublin English of twisting a phrase or title somewhat for comic or irreverent effect, part of the Irish practice of not taking things too seriously and pulling someone down a peg or two if they are felt to be too self-important. For instance, the poet W. B. Yeats apparently underwent treatment in late middle age for sexual rejuvenation and when word got around Dublin we was ridiculed as 'The Gland Old Man of Letters'. Another case comes from about the same time, the beginning of the twentieth century, when two famous women, Maud Gonne MacBride and Charlotte Despard, active in campaigning for Irish rights and freedom, came to be known as Maud Gone Mad and Mrs Desperate. For some considerable time the two main theatres of Dublin, the Gate Theatre and the Abbey Theatre, employed two well-known actors who were homosexual partners. The theatres came to be known as 'Sodom and Begorrah', the second word also hinting at the preference for the Abbey to produce plays with a rural setting.

The spirit of such coinages is still to be seen in word formations which are deliberate alterations of standard English words, e.g. *cleverality* 'display of learning', *feck* 'steal' < *effect*, *ructions* 'uproar, disturbance' < *insurrections* or pseudo-scientific items intended to be comic, e.g. *arseology* 'ridiculous behaviour', *codology* 'nonsense', *edgemecation* 'education, academic learning'. The government buildings which were restored in 1990 under the government of Charles Haughey came to known for a while as *Chas Mahal.*

Retentions of English dialect input Despite the very Irish flavour of many lexical items in Dublin English, some are definitely not of Irish origin but rather go back to English input, sometimes dialectal, in the early modern period, e.g. *blather* 'senseless talk' (from *bladder*, Dolan 1998: 29), *bollix* 'unpleasant individual' (deriving from *bollocks/ballocks* 'testicles', Dolan 1998: 34), *chisler* 'child', *mitch* 'play truant' (*mooch* English 'to loiter' is sometimes used as a variant of this), *cog* 'cheat' (possibly related to Irish *cogair* 'whisper').

Further terms This group consists of words whose etymology is at the least uncertain, in many cases, simply unknown. This means that neither an Irish nor and English dialect source can be discerned. Examples are: *banjax(ed)* 'completely unusable, broken', e.g. *The ol' car is well and truly banjaxed*; *cop on* 'start behaving sensibly', *cop(-on)* 'intelligence, understanding'; *don't bother your barney* 'don't give it a thought'; *cat* 'unfair, unpleasant', *The new rules are really cat*; *jibberish* 'nonsense'; *wojus* 'very bad' (Share 2003 [1997]: 312 regards this as a blend of *woeful* and *atrocious*); *laudy daw* 'self-important individual'; *culchie* 'someone from the country', commonly thought to derive from Kiltimagh, Co Mayo or from *agricultural* by clipping (Dolan 1998: 83); *(gob)daw* 'fool'; *hickey* 'dour, unfashionable'.

Many items from Dublin English are older in usage and not necessarily current in the contemporary vernacular, e.g. *gander* for a married man not living with his wife (Ó Muirithe 2004: 29). Still other terms are from the early modern period and often quoted in connection with a story about a personality such as the event, supposedly told of Swift, which involves the word *coggle* in the meaning of 'testicle' (Ó Muirithe 2004: 32).

6.3 Productive morphology

Words in '-er' / '-ers' Among the devices in the word formation morphology of Dublin English the most striking and productive must be the addition of *-er* /-ər/ (more rarely *-ers*) to stems. This is formally the same as the agentive suffix of standard English but goes well beyond this is its semantic range. There are tens of, if not a few hundred, such formations in current Dublin speech. Many appear as nonce formations, which may become established or fade away again.

Examples: *bazzer* 'tight haircut'; *beamer* 'fast German car' < 'BMW' + *-er*; *(be)japers, (be)jakers* 'general expression of incredulity' probably deriving from Middle English *jape* 'practical joke'; *bogger, bogman, bogtrotter* 'lout' all deriving from 'bog'; *boozer* 'pub'; *bowser* 'troublesome individual'; *brasser* 'prostitute, shameless female'; *clatter* 'beating, flogging'; *dosser* 'lazy good-for-nothing'; *(no) dozer* 's.o. alert to opportunity'; *eccer* 'school homework, home exercise' (clipping with altered pronunciation [ɛkər]); *fanner* 'lazy person'; *fecker* 'lout'; *fucker* 'lout', can be used affectionately as in *little fucker* 'young child'; *gurrier* 'lout'; *header* 'deranged person'; *holliers* 'holidays'; *gollier* 'blob of spittle'; *gouger* 'thug'; *hogger* 'corner boys'; *jammers* 'crowded'; *jibber* 'timid individual, coward'; *joxer* 'idle person'; *kidger* 'young man'; *kisser* 'face'; *knacker* 'insult; itinerant person'; *louser* 'despicable person'; *mentaller* 'person considered slightly insane'; *messer* 'disorganised individual'; *mortaller* 'mortal sin'; *mucker* 'lout'; *napper* 'head' (< *nap*); *nixer* 'job on the side'; *nutter* 'deranged individual'; *perisher* 'young child'; *porter* 'weak type brew, resembling Guinness' < *porter's ale*; *preggers* 'pregnant'; *sanger* 'sandwich' from the pronunciation [ˈsæŋwɪtʃ]; *scratcher* 'bed'; *scrubber* 'working-class woman (derogatory)'; *scummers* 'unpleasant people'; *Shinners* 'members of Sinn Féin'; *sickner* 'bad weather'; *slapper* 'tartish female'; *slinger* 'person not to be trusted'; *snailer* 'nasal mucous'; *snagger* 's.o. who finds fault with sth.'; *snapper* 'child'; *spacer* 'eccentric person'; *squealer* 'baby'; *stunner* 'good-looking female'; *tipper* 'young male'; *tosser* 'useless individual'; *toucher* 'person always trying to get sth. for nothing'; *tugger* 'woman who deals in old clothes'; *wigger* 'insulting reference to a woman'.

Formations in /-o/ Not quite as productive, but still very prevalent are those formations which take a final /-o/, these are particularly common on personal names, e.g. firstnames.

Examples: *alco* 'alcoholic'; *brillo* 'brilliant'; *bucko* 'playful character' < Irish *boc* 'buck'; *combo* 'football practice'; *Crimbo* 'Christmas'; *deffo* 'definitely'; *dido* 'dressed-up girl'. *Gaybo* 'Gay Byrne (popular radio and television presenter)'; *Shaymo* < 'Seamus'; *Anto* < 'Anthony'; *Rayo* < 'Ray'; *Pado* < 'Paddy'; *Micko* < 'Mick'; *The Corpo* < 'Dublin Corporation'; *BIFFO* < Big ignorant fucker from Offaly (Offaly is a rural county in the south-west hinterland of Dublin), *The panto* < *The pantomime at the Olympia theatre.*

There is a long tradition of such formations in Dublin English. For instance, Montgomery Street in the city centre was once one of the biggest red-lights district in Europe. It was known locally as *the Monto* and a reference to it is contained in the song 'Take me up to the Monto'.

Use of 'man', 'one' [wan] and 'himself' / 'herself' Indefinite and reflexive pronouns and the word *man* have usages which are specific to Dublin English and related varieties of Irish English. The word *one* – with the pronunciation [wan], [wæn] – is used as a derogatory reference to a female, e.g. *Whose your one* [wan]*? That one* [wan] *let me standing in the pub for hours.* On the other hand, the reflexive pronoun, used in absolute position with no co-referential personal pronoun, has a positive connotation and is used – with females – to refer respectfully to one's wife and – with males – to refer to the boss or person in authority, e.g. *Herself said she'd pick up the kids later on. Himself isn't in the office today.* Such usage is probably originally a calque on the Irish idiom *An bhfuil sé féin isteach inniu?*, lit. 'Is himself in today?'.

The word *man* is used in many additional ways in Dublin English. Particularly in combination with *your* it means something like 'that person', e.g. *Who's your man?* 'Who is that person over there?'. In a sentence like *I hear your man has left for a new job* the phrase *your man* is cataphoric, referring to someone already thematised in the exchange. In this function the possessive pronoun can vary, e.g. *I see their man hasn't paid up yet. Do you think our man will get here soon?*

There is a further use of *man* – or *fella* [fɛlə] used synonymously – in a phrase at the beginning or end of a sentence. Here it is employed to stress that the speaker is making a statement of general validity, often dissociating oneself at the same time.

(1) *As the fella says, if you don't deliver the goods, you're out on your ear.*
Well, you know, at the end of the day you have to cough up the money, as the man says.

Yet another use of *man* with the adjective *sound* in which it expresses agreement or approval and opens a reply, e.g. *I've answered those two letters, Mick. Sound man you are, Des.*

6.4 Vernacularity in Dublin English

Lexicalised pronunciations There are many words in Irish English that have survived with a pronunciation on which a more standard form was superimposed during the supraregionalisation (Hickey 2003c) of the late 19th and 20th centuries (see also section IV 7 *Supraregionalisation* below). The older pronunciation is the vernacular one and has frequently caused a lexical contrast to that of the standard word. Perhaps the best example of this is [aul] for *old* reflecting a diphthongisation before a formerly velarised [ɫ] which was once very common for many words in Irish English (see section II 1.4 *Features of local Dublin accents* above). The pronunciation [aul] adds a connotation of affection and/or admiration to the basic meaning of 'old'. It often occurs in combination with other vernacular forms, e.g. *aul one* 'mother', *aul lad, man* 'father'.

(2) *The bowl' Charlie* 'The bold Charlie (with sneaking admiration)'
The owl' car 'The old car (said affectionately)'

The same process can be recognised with other words, e.g. *eejit* [ˈiːdʒət̪] 'bungling person' a variant pronunciation of standard English *idiot*, *fella* 'young male, boyfriend' < *fellow* showing the typical reduction of unstressed final /-o/ to schwa.

Another common vernacular feature of Dublin English is now recessive on a general level but retained for specific words. This is the use of an unshifted Middle English /eː, ɛː/. It occurs in words like *easy* [ɛːsi], often written *aisy*, and *tea* [tɛː] (*tay*). A further instance is *Jaysus* [dzɛːzəz] 'expression of surprise' < *Jesus* with unshifted /eː/. One also finds the more euphemistic *Janey (Mack)* for *Jesus.*

Phonetic reductions typical of Dublin English can also be lexicalised in phrases, e.g. *'Tis despra* [tɪz ˈdɛsprə] (< *it is desperate*) 'It is a bad state of affairs'.

Drinking culture There are two other large areas with specific vocabulary in vernacular Dublin English. The first of these concerns drinking and its consequences. A common request to join in drinking is *Are ye on for a pint?* When this has started one is *on the batter* 'on a bout of drinking'. One may choose to drink *a pint of plain* 'a pint of (Guinness)' or perhaps *the hard stuff* 'alcoholic spirits'. At the end of the evening the publican is likely to call out *Time, please!* 'announcement of closing time in a pub' and his customers may well request *a bang of the latch* 'a last drink before closing time'.

To describe those who have drunk to excess there is a veritable battery of terms, a small selection of which would include the following items: *bollixed, buckled, flootered, jarred, langered, legless, locked, maggoty, mogalorum, ossified, paralytic, pissed, scuttered, sloshed, spiflicated, stocious, trolleyed, trousered, twisted, well on, well oiled.*

Scatological and sexual terms There can be little doubt that the reputation of vernacular Dubliners for being generally foul-mouthed rests on the large range of words having to do with various intimate bodily functions. Some of these are meant literally, others have taken on metaphorical meanings, e.g. *ask me arse* 'show strong unconcern', *not give a rat's arse* 'be completely indifferent to sth.' *within an ass's roar,* 'nearby', *only a tinker's fart* 'a small amount'.

Among the terms used in a literal sense one could offer the following: *backdoor trot* 'diarrhoea', *bean-jacks* 'ladies toilet', *bite my shite* 'get lost', *bog(house)* 'toilet', *boner* 'erection', *box* 'female pudenda', *diddy* 'breast, nipple', *dollies* 'breasts', *feck* 'fuck', *flah* 'sexually attractive female', *geebag* 'critical term for female', *(gob)shite* 'person disapproved of', also *shitehawk, gooter* 'male organ', *hammer a job* 'perform sexual act', *mott* 'girlfriend', *motting* 'going out with someone', *jacks* 'toilet', *langer* 'male organ', *rasher* 'sexual intercourse', *risk it for a biscuit* 'take a (sexual) chance', *skilt* 'cheeky, flirtatious girl', *twangman* 'pimp', *wogger* 'male organ'. If one prefers polite indirectness there are certain euphemisms available such as *the bold thing, the one thing, the bit, do(ing) the trick* all for sexual intercourse.

6.5 Loanwords from Irish

The number of loanwords from Irish has declined with the Irish language and the items quoted in works such as Dolan (1998) and Share (1977) are very often only available to a restricted section of the population, usually older rural inhabitants. Nonetheless, there is a resilient residue left in urban varieties, used by speakers who usually do not know the origin of such words.

Of all such items the one found universally must be *craic* 'general social entertainment', the essential element of social life in Dublin, renowned for pub-going and general partying. The spelling reflects the Irish word *craic* which itself is a borrowing from English *crack.* The correct use of this word demands attention on the part of foreigners. As a vernacular term it only occurs with adjectives from colloquial registers, e.g. one can have *a great craic, a grand craic.* A combination like *We enjoyed a vivacious craic* would be ridiculous. The term cannot be augmented with normal adverbs, e.g. *We had very much craic* will not work. Instead it is necessary to use the stressed form of *some*, e.g. *We had ˈsome craic last night.* The unstressed form cannot be used, even where English syntax allows it. For instance, a sentence like *Let's have some craic* uttered by a foreigner would be likely to trigger at most a condescending smile from a Dubliner at the admirable efforts of non-Dubliners to crack the vernacular.

On the theme of social enjoyment one could also mention *céilí* 'social gathering with dancing' (usually written in English without the vowel accents). There is also the word *hooley* 'riotous party' which despite sounding very Irish is not a local borrowing, the only possible etymological trace being Hindi *holi* 'festival, carnival' (Dolan 1998: 141).

Other common loans from Irish would include the following: *bockety* 'unfirm, unsure on foot, lame' < Irish *bacaidí* (Dolan 1998: 31), *crubeen* 'pig's foot prepared for consumption', *poor mouth* 'perennial complaining' < Irish *an béal bocht*, *foostered* 'confused, agitated' < Irish *fústar* 'bustle, activity' (Dolan 1998: 111), *gansey* 'knitted jersey' < Irish *geansaí* < English *Guernsey*, *gom* 'fool' < Irish *gám(aí)*, *gombeen* 'deceiver, trickster' < Irish *gaimbín* 'usurer' (Dolan 1998: 129).

An interesting feature in this context is the use of *devil* as a negator. This has a long history in Irish (Odlin 1995) and is found colloquially in expressions like *divil a bit* 'nothing at all' where the raised [ɪ], formerly common in Irish English, is still used.

While some of the putatively Irish borrowings to be found in contemporary Irish English may be frowned upon by language purists who see them as driving from school Irish and not from (former) native-speakers in the language shift situation, these are nonetheless present and used in urban forms of English such as those in Dublin, first and foremost among these is certainly *sláinte* 'health', used as a general toast and now understood by many foreigners.

A nodding acquaintance with Irish from school has led to words like *plámás* [plɑːˈmɑːs] 'flattery' or *ciúineas* [ˈkjuːnəs] 'silence' being used in a sort of brief code-switching, e.g. *A bit of ciúineas please, Cut out the plámás, will ye.* Some of these words have established spellings which points to a more established usage, e.g. *pishogues* [pɪˈʃoːg] 'superstition' (< Irish *piseog*), e.g. *She believes in all these ol' pishogues.* Such incursions into the lexicon of Irish are brief and superficial. For instance, the common Irish word *seafóid* 'nonsense' is unlikely to be understood by any Dubliner.

The use of Irish terms is not exhausted by the above references. One matter which is noticeable in present-day Irish English in general is the number of Irish terms used in officialese, by ministries, government offices and semi-state bodies (nearly all located in Dublin) when coining names for new institutions and agencies. This is a corollary of the official attitude of the government and the lip service paid to Irish (constitutionally it is the first language in Ireland, though this is, and always has been, wishful thinking). These words are treated as opaque lexical items by the Irish, for instance the government employment and development agency is called *fás* but it is doubtful if the majority of the Irish are aware that this is simply the word for ‘growth’. Equally names for political positions are often referred to by their Irish equivalents, for instance there is no prime minister or deputy prime minister in Ireland but a *taoiseach* and a *tánaiste*. The use of these terms should in no way be construed as allegiance to the Irish language, indeed the vast majority of Irish pronounce them using English phonetics, e.g. [t̪ˠiːʃəx] is the Irish pronunciation and [t̪iːʃək] the usual Irish English rendering.

6.6 Phrases and expressions

Most of the phrases in Dublin English consist of words known to speakers of standard English but in combinations which are unusual and with a total meaning which cannot necessarily be derived from the parts, although usually the general idea can be guessed.

Examples: *act the maggot* ‘be generally annoying’; *feck around* ‘useless behaviour’, e.g. *Quit fecking around and get on with it*; *gerrup the yard* ‘get lost’; *give out* ‘complain’; *You’re always giving out about my cooking*, *go away* ‘expression of disbelief’, e.g. *He’s quit the new job after only a week, Go away!*; *hump off* ‘get lost’; *hurler on the ditch* ‘non-participant critic’; *do a legger* ‘do a runner’; *pull the devil by the tail* ‘get barely by’; *put the heart across somebody* ‘frighten, scare someone’; *effin’ and blindin’* ‘cursing strongly’; *run your lamps over sth.* ‘take a quick look at sth.’; *still and all* ‘nevertheless’ especially in absolute position, e.g. *Still and all the book isn’t a bad read*; *thrilled skinny* ‘very excited’; *trick-act* ‘misbehave’; *in your granny’s* ‘pleased, contented’; *lose the run of oneself* ‘go out of control’; *O’Brien’s dog* ‘all things to all men’; *the job’s oxo* ‘that’s it, it’s done’; *soften the/one’s cough* ‘bring down somewhat, make more modest’; *a decent skin* ‘fine individual’; *wan and wan* ‘fish and chips’; *When I was out foreign*, i.e. abroad.

Rhyming structures It has become common practice in Dublin for any new monument or building in the public eye to be given a sassy name more or less immediately. Somehow or other, the local population comes to agree on the label to be used. The basic guideline would seem to be a rhyming structure of the type – X – – X. For example, there is a monument at the bottom of Grafton Street commemorating a folk heroine of Dublin known as Molly Malone and celebrated in a famous song. This has come to be known as *The Tart with the Cart*. Another similar monument (celebrating the River Liffey) in O'Connell Street is labelled *The Floozie in the Jacuzzi* (which also enjoyed the less flattering sobriquet *The Hoor on the Sewer*). The two women shoppers depicted in a sculpture near the Ha'penny Bridge (in Liffey Street) are known in folk speech as *The Hags with the Bags*. The statue of James Joyce (leaning on a walking stick) is called *The Prick with the Stick* while the chimney stack at Smithfield Village (off O'Connell Street) with a lookout on the top is called *The Flue with the View*. Another recent one is *The Fag on the Crag* for the sculpture of Oscar Wilde showing the young writer reclining on a rock in St. Stephen's Green. While on the theme of writers, one could mention *The Crank on the Bank* for the memorial to the poet Patrick Kavanagh (often bitter in his style). The productivity of such structures can be seen in the names given to an underwater digital clock, placed in the River Liffey at O'Connell Bridge a few years before 2000 and serving as a countdown for the millennium. Despite costing 1.3m pounds (of National Lottery money), the clock did not, in the event, last until 2000 and was unceremoniously removed from the Liffey. However, in the brief period in which it graced the river at the city centre it obtained at least two names, viz. *The Clock in the Dock* and *The Chime in the Slime*.

Proper names as common nouns Some proper names have come into general use in Dublin English and throughout the rest of Ireland. An example which all the Irish would know is *delph* 'crockery' < *delftware* < town of Delft in The Netherlands (Dublin was noted for its production of delftware in the 18th century). In vernacular Dublin English it is also the word for false teeth. The term *biddy* (< *Bridget*) is used for a meddlesome female, the word derives from the shortened name for a typical working-class Irish woman. As supposed effeminacy is viewed scathingly in male-centred culture, it is not surprising that a woman's name should be used for scorn, e.g. *molly* 'ineffectual individual'.

And of course there are words for people from the capital: *dub* 'Dubliner' is the simplest form, while *jackeen* 'Dubliner' is now a somewhat dated label used by country people for those in the capital. One etymology offered is that young children were given small Union Jack flags to wave during a visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin (Dolan 1998: 148). In a similar vein one has *plastic Paddy* for people of Irish descent but who have not grown up in Ireland.

Clippings and abbreviations As might be expected in a local community, abbreviated forms of longer names are common in Dublin, e.g. *The Joy* 'Mountjoy prison' or *The Park* 'Phoenix Park', known in older usage as 'The Fifteen Acres'.

Clippings are quite common and may have a typical ending attached to them (see discussion of words in *-er* and *-o* above), e.g. *differ* 'difference'; *reck* 'recognition' as in *He didn't even give me a reck*; *veggie* 'partly disabled child (mentally or physically)' (< *vegetable*). Proper names may also be clipped for colloquial flavour: *How's Murph doing these days?* (i.e. someone called Murphy).

Discourse markers Traditionally, discourse markers in Irish English have been seen as Irish words and expressions which transferred to English during the language shift. This is true in a culture in which backchannelling and supportive noises of various sorts are important aspect of discourse. Non-Irish will also note the rapid style of Irish English and the great degree of overlap which is not regarded as impolite. Reassurance is a central component of Irish English pragmatics and there are various ways of realising it.

General confirmation can be expressed or sought by using certain sentence openers, e.g. *right* as in *Right, that's 6.40 I owe you, is it?* or *Right, we'll meet for lunch at O'Brien's?* A reply to what may have been a slight rebuke can be opened with *sure* which is always unstressed, e.g. *Now tidy up the kitchen! Sure, I was just about to do it.* There are common phrases to express complete agreement with the speaker (an important aspect of Irish English discourse), e.g. *don't be talking*, as in *I bet they'll put up income tax in the next budget. Oh, don't be talking.* (= 'they will definitely') or *Ah, stop!* as in *They've put up the price of petrol again. Ah, stop!* (= 'what else could one expect').

Exhortations not to worry about something are equally common. For these Irish puts a range of words at one's disposal, several of which have survived into Irish English, e.g. *yerra* (< Irish *a Dhia* 'God-VOCATIVE') as in *How are you keeping these days? Yerra, I can't complain*; *wisha* (< Irish *mhuise* 'well!', definitely old-fashioned) as in *Is your back still giving you problems? Wisha, it could be worse*; *arrah* (< Irish *arú* 'ah!') as in *Do you want me to give you a hand? Arrah, don't bother, I'm fine.*

These Irish elements are often avoided by the younger Irish. For instance, *begor / begob* can be used to introduce or terminate a reply or item of unexpected information, but is regarded as very dated nowadays, e.g. *Begor, it's started to snow! You're not building another extension? I am, begob.*

To gain the attention of one's partner in a conversation, it is very common to prefix any sentence with *look it / look here*, e.g. *Look it, we'll have* *to do something about the wiring in the rooms upstairs. Look here, you're going to have to pay the bill.*

7 Placenames in Dublin

The name of the city The capital of Ireland has two names in Irish and one in English. The latter is *Dublin* which has a local pronunciation with a high back vowel, i.e. [dʊblən], and a mainstream one in which a low, unrounded vowel is used, i.e. [dʌblən]. The name *Dublin* stems from *Dubh Linn* 'black pool'. The second Irish name is *Baile Átha Cliath* [ˈblɑː ˈkʲlʲiə] 'town of the fortified ford'. Sometimes the first element is left out and one finds *Áth Cliath* 'fortified ford'. In this case *Áth* is in the nominative case because of the missing word for 'town' and hence does not end in *-a*.

Folk etymology Some of the names in Dublin – and for that matter throughout Ireland – have arisen through a lack of knowledge of historical antecedents by later Irish. A famous instance in Dublin in the name for the large city park, *Phoenix Park* whose first element is derived from *Fionn Uisce* [fʲʌn ɪʃkʲə] 'clear water' and has no classical connection (see *Norse names in Dublin* below for more examples). Other cases seem unmotivated but can be accounted for by historic antecedents, e.g. *Swords* is from 'sward' (= 'an expanse of grass'), *Leopardstown* stems from an original *Leperstown.* The anglicisations of names may also show false analysis of the Irish definite article and noun, e.g. *Naul* < *an aill* 'the cliff'.

Anglicisations of Irish names Throughout the island of Ireland the majority of Irish names have been anglicised on a quasi-phonetic principle. An English word was derived which somehow echoed the Irish original. Dublin examples are: *Ballisk* < *Baile Uisce* 'homestead of water', *Clonsilla* < *Cluain Saileach* 'pasture of the willow', *Coolock* < *Cúlóg* 'little corner', *Donnybrook* < *Domhnach Broc* 'Broc's church', *Drimnagh* < *Droimneach* 'ridged land', *Finglas* < *Fionnghlas* 'bright stream', *Rathgar* < *Ráth Garbh* 'rough fort', *Santry* < *Sean Trá* 'old strand', *Toberbunny* < *Tobar Bainne* 'well of milk', *Killiney* < *Cill Iníon Léinín* 'church of the daughters of Léinín', *Malahide* < *Mulach na hÍde* 'summit of Ide', *Kilbarrack* < *Cill Bharróg* 'church of little Barra' (all parts of Dublin). On occasions the anglicisation may reflect the Irish spelling but not the pronunciation, e.g. *Tallaght* [ˈtælə] < *Tamhlacht* 'plague burial-place'.

Translations of Irish names On a few occasions Irish names are translated into English, e.g. *Seapoint* < *Rinn an Trá*, *Monkstown* < *Baile an Mhanaigh* (though in Dublin the suburb in Irish is called *Carraig Bhréanainn* 'Brendan's rock'). In some instances, the English may be original and the Irish a translation. Still others are partial translations, e.g. the faintly ridiculous *Dollymount* from *Cnocán Doirinne* where the first word was translated as 'mount' and the second rendered quasi-phonetically as 'Dolly'. Another instance is *Chapelizod* < *Séipeál Iosóid* 'Iseult's chapel'.

Norse names in Dublin From the two centuries before 1000 there are some names in Dublin which stem from Norse usage, e.g. *Leixlip* 'salmon's leap', *Skerries* 'rocky islands', *Howth* < Old Norse *Huvud* 'head' (the Irish name is *Binn Éadair*, 'Éadar's peak'), *Ballyfermot* < *Baile Thormaid* 'homestead of Thormund'. Another case is *Dalkey* from *Dalg* + *ey* 'the island of Dalg', Irish *Dealginis*, lit. 'Dealg' + 'island'. On occasions folk etymologies arose where the Norse forms were no longer transparent, e.g. *Ireland's Eye* (an island just north of Howth) which contains the Old Norse word for 'island', *øy*, and is unrelated to 'eye'.

Signs and labels in Irish In present-day Ireland a considerable amount of printed Irish can be seen in public places and this can be misleading so a few comments are called for here. For instance, there is a common practice of putting labels for sections of department stores and large shops in Irish and English. For instance, in one large bookshop in Dublin all the sections have labels in both languages, e.g. *Bestsellers / Rogha an mhargaidh*, lit 'choice of the market'. In a supermarket you may find *Dairy products* and *Earraí bainne*, lit. 'products of milk', below it. This practice does not mean that Dublin is a bilingual city.

There is also the custom of giving an Irish name to government departments, offices and semi-state bodies. For example, the employment agency is called *Fás*, lit. 'growth'. The prime minister is the *Taoiseach*, lit. 'leader' while the minister of foreign affairs is the *Tánaiste*, lit. 'deputy, second in line' and the speaker in parliament is the *Ceann Comhairle*, lit. 'head of the council'. The use of these terms by individuals does not imply a knowledge of Irish on their part but simply the command of these lexicalised terms.

One should also mention that road signs and many notices or placards in public, as well as commemorative plaques and the like, are in both English and Irish. By and large the vast majority of the population are blind to the Irish text in such cases and accept it as part of the lip service paid to the language in official quarters and as something which has nothing to do with everyday language usage.

III Reaching back in time

The present part of this book traces the development of Dublin English – so far as this is possible – in reverse chronological order. To begin with, there is an outline introduction to the history of English in Ireland and then an attempt is made to trace this history backwards by assessing the non-standard linguistic features in a variety of text types which can be found from the early 20th century back as far as the early 14th century.

Text types	*Document period*
Plays	early 20th and 19th centuries
Personal letters	19th and 18th centuries
Prescriptive comments	18th centuries
Parodies	pre-18th century
Municipal records	15th and 16th centuries
Poetry	early 14th century

In examining historical documents of the above kinds, the proviso mentioned at the outset (see section II 5 *The grammar of Dublin English* above) must be borne in mind: in many cases the features discussed are not identified by the sources as being specifically characteristic of Dublin English and certainly not to the exclusion of other varieties of Irish English. However, where possible the distinction between English in Dublin and outside the capital will be foregrounded.

The following sections can be read for their intrinsic interest. However, if readers are mainly concerned with seeing how features found in present-day Dublin English are attested in historical documents, then it is sufficient to consult the tables at the end of each section which seek to show links with present-day Dublin English, or discontinuities as the case may be. The final section deals with the phenomenon of supraregionalisation which probably became operative in Ireland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

1 The history of English in Ireland

The historical development of English in Ireland can be divided into several phases, depending on chronological and geographical factors. There is an early period of Irish English which began in the late 12th century with the coming of Normans to the south-east of the country and which lasted up to the beginning of the 17th century. A second period can be taken to begin after new groups of settlers – from different parts of Britain – moved into the north and south of the country introducing their forms of English which are relevant to contemporary Irish English in the north and south of the country respectively.

The first phase of English in Ireland was relatively weak. Anglo-Norman was the dominant language with English in second place, chiefly in the towns of the east coast. The robustness of Anglo-Norman in late medieval Ireland is clearly demonstrated by the large number of Anglo-Norman loans in Irish at the time (Hickey 1997a). The English loans are few in number and only much later do they increase. Furthermore, one must bear in mind that Gaelicisation of the original settlers, increasing steadily up to the end of the 16th century, meant that the position of English was further weakened (Palmer 2000). The language survived best in the east and had a constant foothold in Dublin. Thus the overall weak position of English in pre-17th century Ireland does not mean that there was no survival of the language into the post-17th century period. Many of the features in vernacular Dublin English, phonological and lexical, are of a considerable vintage (Hickey 2002b).

Table 1.1 *The historical development of English in Ireland*

Period 1	*Time*	Late 12th century
	Source	West and south-west of England
	Destination	East and south-east of Ireland
	Languages	Anglo-Norman, English
Period 2a	*Time*	Early 17th century
	Source	Western Scotland
	Destination	North-east of Ireland (Ulster)
	Language	Lowland Scots
Period 2b	*Time*	Mid-17th century and later
	Source	North-west and west of England
	Destination	Chiefly centre and south of Ireland
	Language	Dialects of English typical of source areas

1.1 The coming of the English

In 1169, at the request of a local lord in the south east of Ireland, a group of adventurers from England landed near Wexford, initiating a process which is traditionally terms the Anglo-Norman invasion. This historical fact is taken to mark the beginning of the political association of England with Ireland. The initial foray to Ireland was nothing like a systematic invasion, in contrast to the Norman invasion of England in the previous century. In a way it resembled the first Germanic raids on Britain more than 700 years earlier: it began as a minor expedition across the sea to a neighbouring country ostensibly to come to the aid of a native warlord, and gradually gathered momentum.

From a linguistic perspective the term 'Anglo-Norman' is appropriate given the fact that these settlers brought a west English variety of French with them which in its turn influenced Irish, by providing many loanwords which are definitely French in origin and by possibly influencing the stress system of Irish in the south of the country (Hickey 1997a). Such common (southern) Irish words as *páiste* (< AN *page*) and *garsún* (< AN *garçon*) are of French origin.

The date of 1169 has been agreed upon by tradition, a historiographical tradition which was established by Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis 1146-1223) who wrote two works based on journeys to Ireland in the 1180s, *Topography of Ireland* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* 'The conquest of Ireland'. Both works are essentially anti-Irish and in favour of Gerald's own Welsh-Norman relatives who had taken part in the settlement of the south-east and east of Ireland (Maurice FitzGerald was among those who landed in Ireland in 1169). Gerald initiated a practice of portraying the Irish as hardly better than barbarians and, up at least to the Elizabethan era, provided an apparently objective basis for the English subjugation of the Irish, later augmented by the desire to civilise them by forced conversion to the Protestant faith.

The Anglo-Normans were militarily far superior to the native Irish with whom they engaged in combat taking the city of Wexford immediately after their arrival and Waterford a few months later in a legendary battle involving Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. In collusion with sections of the native Irish, the Anglo-Normans took Dublin in 1170.

The first adventurers to arrive on Irish soil appear to have been quite a heterogeneous group. They came from Pembrokeshire in West Wales (Moody and Martin (eds) 1967: 127ff.) and were, from the English point of view, march lords who lived on the periphery of royal influence. For this reason Henry II (1154-89) was at pains to ensure that these Welsh Normans remained loyal to him and travelled to Ireland in 1171 to assert his royal authority, a journey which was successful in that Henry attained the loyalty of Irish chiefs and succeeded – for a time – in transforming the intervention from the largely independent activity of Welsh lords seeking land gains to a conquest of Ireland for the English crown.

From historical records it is known that there were at least three languages represented in this early group. Anglo-Norman, a variety of medieval English, and to some degree Flemish (Curtis 1919). Much as the presence of the latter may serve to spice the demographic picture of medieval Ireland, for the further linguistic development of both Irish and English, Flemish is of no relevance. A few loanwords have survived in the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy (Hickey 1988) but that is all. No traces of Flemish influence are to be seen in Irish. Welsh was in all probability also among the languages of the first invaders. However, traces of Welsh are not to be seen during this period or later.

1.2 Spread of English

The development of English in Ireland since the 12th century has not been continuous. This fact is due to the settlement of the island by the English and to the political conditions in England itself. Only the east and south-east coast of Ireland were settled in the late Middle Ages, above all the towns and cities of Wexford, Waterford, New Ross, Kilkenny and Dublin, with Norman castles extending up to the north-east as can be seen from that at Carrickfergus north of present-day Belfast.

At this time Dublin had already gained the status of capital of the country. Like other cities in Ireland, Dublin owes its origins to a Viking settlement before the turn of the first millennium (Moore 1965: 10). Because of its favourable position in the middle of the east coast with a wide sheltered bay and with the central plain as its hinterland, Dublin was able to assert itself over other urban settlements in Ireland on river estuaries. As far as English is concerned, this fact is of some importance. The city was quickly occupied by the English/Anglo-Normans after its conquest. After his visit to Ireland, Henry II issued the *Charter of Dublin* in 1172 (Dolley 1972: 68ff.). From this time onwards English has existed continuously in Dublin, indeed within a roughly semi- circular area around the town and stretching down the east coast, a region known as the *Pale* (see map in Dudley Edwards 1973: 90) Within the boundaries of the *Pale* the political influence of England never ceased to exist. This is basically the reason for the continuous existence of the English language in Dublin: in the history of Ireland the English language has maintained the strongest influence in those areas where the political influence of England has been most keenly felt.

Viewed as a whole, however, only a small part of the country was colonised by the English. After the 12th century, settlements spread to other cities, e.g. in the south (Cork) and in the west (Limerick and Galway). The impact on rural western Ireland was virtually non-existent. This is of importance when considering the linguistic status of English vis à vis Irish in the late Middle Ages. English should not be viewed as a superstrate at this stage (as it was to become in the early modern period). Indeed English competed with Anglo-Norman in medieval Ireland and both these languages definitely interacted with Irish (see remarks above).

Beyond the *Pale* in the centuries after the initial settlement on the east coast an ever increasing assimilation of the original English by the native Irish set in. This assimilation had two main reasons. For one the English and Norman settlers of this early, pre-Reformation period were of course Catholic and for another the connections with England were in fact quite loose. Those adventurers who sought land and political influence in Ireland evinced only nominal allegiance to the English crown. They had become to a large extent independent in Ireland (Moody and Martin (eds) 1967: 133ff.). Indeed one can interpret the visits of English kings in Ireland such as that of Henry II in the late 12th century (see above) as a scarcely concealed attempt to assert the influence of the English in a colony which did not lay undue emphasis on crown loyalty. In later centuries other monarchs were to follow suit. Thus John came to Ireland in 1210 and Richard II twice (in 1394 and 1399). Each of these visits was intended to serve the purpose of constraining the power of the ostensibly English nobility. With the severing of ties with England the original English and Norman populations naturally drew closer to the native Irish. This development led to the coining of the famous phrase to describe the assimilation of the Old English (descendants of the original settlers), *Hiberniores ipsis hibernis*, 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'.

This development explains the decline of English in Ireland in the 14th and 15th centuries. Especially after the adoption of Protestantism by the English government, initiated by the 'Reformation Parliament' (1529-36) of Henry VIII, the English settlers in Ireland felt cut off and identified themselves increasingly with the native Catholic population.

The lowest point in the spread of English is to be found in the first half of the 16th century. English really only existed with any resilience in Dublin (more broadly, within the *Pale*) and in the south-east corner of the country. The resurgent Gaelicism of the 16th century led by necessity to the recession of English influence (Moody and Martin (eds) 1967: 158ff.).

1.3 The situation in medieval Ireland

The history of English in Ireland is not that of a simple substitution of Irish by English. One must consider in this connection both the linguistic situation and the diachronic distribution of English in the country. At the time of the first English incursions the linguistic situation in Ireland was quite homogeneous. In the 9th century Ireland was ravaged by Scandinavians just like most of northern Britain. The latter, however, settled down in the following three centuries. The decisive battle against the Scandinavians at Clontarf (now a suburb of Dublin) in 1014 is taken to represent on the one hand the final break with Denmark and Norway and on the other to have resulted in the complete assimilation of the remaining Scandinavians with the native Irish population much as it did in other countries, such as large parts of northern Britain and northern France. For the period of the initial invasions one can assume, in contradistinction to various older authors such as Curtis (1919: 234), that the heterogeneity which existed was more demographic than linguistic. Scandinavian had indeed an effect on Irish, particularly in the field of lexis (see Sommerfelt in Ó Cuív (ed.) 1975) but there can be no assuming that a bilingual situation obtained any longer in the Ireland of the late 12th century.

As one would expect from the status of the Normans in England and from the attested names of the warlords who came to Ireland in the late 12th century – notably Richard de Clare – the Anglo-Normans were the leaders among the new settlers. The English were their servants, a fact which points to the relatively low status of the language at this time. As in England, the ruling classes and the higher positions in the clergy were occupied by Normans soon after the invasion. Their language was introduced with them and established itself in the towns. Evidence for this standpoint is offered by such works as *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* and *The Entrenchment of New Ross* in Anglo-Norman as well as contemporary references to spoken Anglo-Norman in court proceedings from Kilkenny (Cahill 1938: 160f.). Anglo-Norman seems to have been maintained in the cities well into the 14th century as the famous *Statutes of Kilkenny* attest (Lydon 1967, 1973: 94ff., see text in Crowley 2000: 14-16). These were composed in Anglo-Norman and admonished both the French-speaking lords and the native Irish population to speak English. The statutes were not repealed until the end of the 15th century but they were never effective. The large number of Anglo-Norman loanwords in Irish (Risk 1971: 586ff.; 1974) which entered the language in the period after the invasion testifies to the existence of Anglo-Norman and the robustness of its position from the mid 12th to the 14th century. In fact as a language of law it was used well into the 15th century as evidenced by the Acts of Parliament of 1472 still written in Anglo-Norman.

The strength of Irish can be recognised from various comments and descriptions of the early period. For instance, Irish was allowed in court proceedings according to the municipal archives of Waterford (1492-3) in those cases where one of the litigants was Irish. This would have been unthinkable from the 17th century onwards when Irish was banned from public life.

Still more indicative of the vitality of Irish is the account from the 16th century of the proclamation of a bill in the Dublin parliament (1541) which officially declared the assumption of the title of King of Ireland by Henry VIII (Dolan 1991: 143). The parliament was attended by the representatives of the major Norman families of Ireland, but of these only the Earl of Ormond was able to understand the English and apparently translated it into Irish for the rest of the attending Norman nobility. Needless to say, the English viewed this situation with deep suspicion and the Lord Chancellor William Gerrard commented unfavourably in 1578 on the use of Irish by the English 'even in Dublin' and regarded the habit and the customs of the Irish as detrimental to the character of the English. Furthermore, since the Reformation Irishness was directly linked to Popery. The Irish and the (Catholic) Old English were viewed accordingly with growing concern.

1.4 Renewed dominance of English

For the history of English in Ireland, the 16th century represents a break in its development. Politically it was marked by increasing separatist activities on the part of the Irish (of native and/or original English/Norman stock) which ended in the final victory over the Irish by English forces in the battle of Kinsale (Co. Cork) in 1601. The subsequent departure from Ireland by native leaders in 1607 (known somewhat romantically as the *Flight of the Earls*) left a political vacuum which was energetically filled by the English. As of the beginning of the 17th century, English attained a dominant position in Ireland and has continued to enjoy this status as a superstrate vis à vis Irish ever since.

The establishment of English in Ireland in the early modern period is due to 'plantations' (MacCurtain 1972: 89ff.). These forced settlements were carried out sporadically in the 16th and then with great consistency in the 17th century. The first plantations originated in the period from 1549 to 1557 (Moody and Martin, eds, 1967: 189ff.) as the two counties Laois (read: [liːʃ]) and Offaly in the centre of the country were settled (Duffy (ed.) 1997: 58f.). The English who moved there were, however, quickly assimilated by the native population. The same is true of the later 'plantations' in the province of Munster in 1586-1592 (Moody and Martin (eds) 1967: 190) which did not lead to any change in the linguistic composition of the country. These early plantations were doomed to failure as they only involved representatives of the English upper classes. The plantations in Ulster in the early 17th century were of quite a different nature as they consisted mostly of farmers, artisans and tradesmen who displaced rather than governed the native Irish population of the north.

With regard to the south of the country, it was only from the second half of the 17th century onwards, after Oliver Cromwell had been militarily victorious over Ireland in 1649/50 and the Irish rebels were completely conquered, that settlements of English on a large scale took place. This originated in the necessity for Cromwell to allot land in Ireland to those who had given him their military service, both in England and Ireland. These English settlers retained their language and passed it on to following generations, though the question of what varieties these people spoke has not been clarified nor is there agreement on the extent to which their speech was affected by contact with the native Irish. After the victory over the Catholic forces under James II by William III and his forces (at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690 and, in the following year, at the militarily decisive Battle of Aughrim under his Dutch general Ginkel) Catholics were excluded from political power and from higher positions in society. The spread of English throughout the entire country could then advance unhindered. Such events as the founding of Trinity College Dublin as a university by Elizabeth I in 1592 were intended purely for the benefit of the Protestant classes, in keeping with the assumption of the Tudors that only Protestant culture could rightfully be regarded as 'civilised'.

1.5 The eighteenth century

The 18th century in Ireland is at once a period of blossoming and decline, of liberty and of oppression. There was a long-lasting relative peace: between William's suppression of the Jacobites in Ireland (1689-1691) and the United Irishmen uprising of 1798 there were no significant military campaigns against English rule. This is the age of the author Swift (1667-1745), of the philosopher George Berkeley (1685-1753), of the political thinker Edmund Burke (1729-1797), of the elocutionist and amateur linguist Thomas Sheridan (1719-1788) and of his more famous son, the dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816). It is the period in which Dublin was almost on a par with London and could vie with it as a cultural centre. Such events as the first performance of Händel's *Messiah* in 1742 or the founding of the Royal Irish Society in 1785 (from 1820 onwards the Royal Dublin Society) and the splendid examples of Georgian architecture in the capital amply testify to this (Duffy (ed.) 1997: 70-5).

The sector which benefited most in this century was of course the Protestant middle and upper class. There are many critical voices which rightly point to the darker sides of this era with its ostracisation of the indigenous population of Ireland (see Corkery 1967 and Ó Tuama and Kinsella (eds) 1981). Furthermore, the rural population was disadvantaged and did not partake in the prosperity of the Protestant sector. For the Irish-speaking sector of the population this was also the century of the Penal Laws (introduced in 1695) which, among many things, forbade Catholics to visit or teach in schools. The Penal Laws were finally repealed in 1793 and after that date there was a slow increase in the rights of Catholics.

1.6 The nineteenth century

The 19th century opened with the political union of Ireland and England in 1801 which put an end to the relative independence which Dublin as the capital of the country enjoyed in the latter half of the 18th century, especially under the leadership of Henry Grattan (1746-1820). The demands for more rights for Catholics increased in the first few decades and by the late 1820s Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) had succeeded in gaining major concessions from the British with regard to the civil rights of the native population. This culminated in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the institution of Irish National Schools (for primary education) in 1831 (Dowling 1971: 118-27). This meant that the Catholics no longer needed to have recourse to 'hedge schools' (Dowling 1971) for their education and could in theory hold public office. As the medium of instruction in the primary schools was naturally English they added considerable momentum to the language shift which was already fully under way.

The union of Ireland and England had no immediate linguistic effect on the country. Paradoxically, it was the efforts of the Catholic community for emancipation under O'Connell, which had by far the greater effect: he himself urged his fellow countrymen to abandon Irish as he saw English as the necessary pre-condition for social advancement.

The second major factor in language shift in the first half of the 19th century was the blow which was dealt to the Irish language by the Great Famine of the late 1840s (de Fréine 1965). This decimated the native population with approximately one million dying of starvation or malnutrition and as much again leaving the country to emigrate to England or America, initiating a practice which was to continue unabated until well into the 20th century.

Partly as a result of the devastation of the Famine, the momentum for a degree of political autonomy in Ireland increased. To some extent it was provoked by the Fenian movement of the 1850s and 1860s but more by the lobbying of Irish politicians in the London parliament, notably by Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), and by the relatively well-disposed English prime-minister William Gladstone (1809-1898).

There is little statistical documentation of the decline of Irish in the 18th century. The existing estimates rely on figures for individual baronies, some of these have been assessed by scholars concerned with the matter (Fitzgerald 1984). By the 19th century a clearer picture emerges, particularly after the census of 1851 which was the first to return figures for language use. Unfortunately, this census is after the Famine and a considerable reduction in the number of speakers had already taken place by then. There are also a number of later censuses which document fairly clearly the shrinking of the Irish-speaking areas in the western half of the country (see maps in Ó Cuív 1969).

The history of English in Dublin in the 20th century is dealt with in section III *2 Recent changes in Dublin English* above. There are also remarks of relevance in section III 7. *Supraregionalisation* below.

2 Letters as linguistic evidence

In recent years considerable interest has developed in the use of emigrant letters when trying to achieve historical depth in the analysis of varieties of English. Notably Michael Montgomery in his investigations of Ulster English and its relationship to transported forms in the United States (see Montgomery 1995), has availed of this source. Such analyses are made possible by the collections of such letters held at various public archives in Ireland, north and south. In particular the Public Records Office in Belfast has many collections of letters written by Ulster emigrants to the United States starting in the 18th century and continuing up to the 20th century.

The position in the south of the country is not quite so favourable. There are certainly emigration scenarios which are unsupported by letters back from the colonies. For instance, the seasonal, and later permanent, migration from the south-east of Ireland to Newfoundland in the 18th and early 19th century (Clarke 1997, 2004; Hickey 2002a; Kirwin 1993) passed without any correspondence from the migrants with their families in Ireland. The most obvious reason for this is that these southern Irish were in all probability unable to write. Recall that primary education for Catholics (the majority in the south) was only introduced after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 with the subsequent establishment of national schools (primary schools for Catholics) a few years later, see section *1.6 The nineteenth century* above. In Ulster the situation was considerably different as the Ulster Scots population was educated and literate so in a position to write back from the United States after the steady flow of emigrants there began in the early 18th century (Montgomery 1995).

Despite the unfavourable situation in the south of the country there is a limited amount of emigrant correspondence which is mostly available in the manuscript section of the National Library of Ireland and which has been consulted in detail for the current investigation of Dublin English. In addition there is correspondence internally in Ireland. Again in the National Library of Ireland there is a body of letters relating to a local politician from the mid 18th century and which has also been consulted for the present study. This is the subject of section *2.1.1 The Mahon letters.*

Needless to say, drawing conclusions about spoken language from letters is an exercise which demands particular caution. A number of caveats need to be specified at the outset.

1) The language of letters may be too formal (the letters may have been dictated to someone who acted as a trained correspondent).
2) The narrative structure of the texts may be such that certain grammatical categories do not occur. This is particularly true of the habitual aspect, for instance.

The relative standardness of the language used by many well-educated correspondents is a perennial difficulty in assessing non-standard features of a variety. For instance, the National Library of Ireland houses six letters from Co. Tyrone emigrants to the United States (Ms. 2300) describing conditions there to friends and relatives at home (there are also a further five such letters, all stemming from the early 19th century). But all of these are written in English too standard in grammar and orthography to be of any great value in trying to establish the shape of Ulster English at the time of writing.

There are also difficulties in deciding what evidence is spurious and what is to count as genuine. Here is an example of what is meant.

(1) '... there is a boy cossen (cousin – RH) of hers who wishØ to goe on the same ship.' (Edward Shaughnessy, 1864, Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny).

Is this an instance of no inflection on the third person singular due to a subject concord restriction in the variety of English spoken by the individual in question? The area is certainly one in which there is nowadays no inflection on auxiliary verbs and non-lexical *do* (Hickey 2001a: 12f.) but is that enough to conclude that it also applied to lexical verbs such as *wish* in this letter? There is no simple answer to this question, but caution is obviously required here as elsewhere.

A casual glance at any of the correspondence available for Irish English reveals a poor command of English orthography on the part of many letter writers. A good instance of this is provided by Elli Mahon, the sister of the M.P. (see following section). Her spelling of English is poor, for instance, she writes *hear* for *here*, *belive* for *believe*, etc. On the other hand she uses spellings which would appear to indicate her pronunciation, e.g. *acknowlidged* with a high front vowel in a post-stress syllable. Also the sentence *imboldings me to give you this trouble* shows the possible confusion of velar and alveolar nasals as Dublin English has widespread alveolarisation of velar nasals.

Many of these correspondents use naive spellings, e.g. Chris Harrison (Thomas Mahon's wine merchant, see below): 'y^{w} menchon to me ...', 'to ancer my draft ...', 'must wate till the time you menchon'. Later when Harrison engages a lawyer, Richard Carey, to remind Mahon of his outstanding bills, the lawyer writes on behalf on his client and spells words like *mention* or *acknowledge* as they are today so that it is clear that the variant spellings represent naive spellings on the part of a correspondent uncertain about English orthography. Such spellings must be examined closely to determine whether they reflect a local pronunciation feature or simply result from an incomplete command of English orthography.

2.1 18th century letters

2.1.1 The Mahon letters

The Mahon letters consists of well over a hundred letters written over more than three decades from the 1740s onwards to the Dublin Member of Parliament Thomas Mahon, who lived in Strokestown in north Co. Dublin. Most of the letters are from members of the public in his constituency. Some are from members of his family (including his sister Elli) and some are from his wine merchant, Chris Harrison, who wrote to him frequently, mostly reminding him to settle his debts. For the current investigation the first two batches of letters were consulted: (1) 37 letters from the period 1729-1753 (National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10,081) and (2) 29 letters from the period

1754-1761 (National Library of Ireland, also Ms. 10,081). These letters are particularly interesting as we can assume that the type of English they contain is that which Thomas Sheridan later criticised in the appendix to his grammar of 1781 (see above).

From reading these letters it is obvious that the writers have often a very poor knowledge of English orthography, indeed probably of English in general. The style is faltering, repetitive and sentences are often not completed. It is furthermore uncertain whether the sender of the letter wrote it him/herself or conveyed the contents to someone else who actually put pen to paper. Thus the suspicion arises regularly that the sender of the letter is a native speaker of Irish struggling with English. Examples of orthographical errors are the following: *sale* for *sail*, *remander* for *remainder*, *speady* for *speedy*.

PRONUNCIATION

Dentalisation before /r/ Chris Harrison (and his mother) from Dublin show traces of Dublin English in their spellings, e.g. *throuble* for *trouble* or *conthrey* for *country*, writing around 1760.

Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ Elli Mahon (sister of the M.P.) signs herself on one occasion in full *Your affectionate sister and humble sarvint* (there is a photograph of this letter on the CD-ROM accompanying this book). Unfortunately the word *servant* is usually abbreviated to *Srvnt.* in the Mahon letters, though other spellings do occur such as *sarvant* with one James Acton. Cecily Byrne (1763): 'or anything in my power to sarve you and your fathers child'.

Raising of /æ/ before /r/ Chris Harrison has spellings showing the raising of /æ/ before /r/ as in '... I have taken pertickler care to have it packt well ...'.

Unraised ME /eː/, /ɛː/ '... for will plase you ...', 'six dozen bottles of extrame good French White wine...', '... found my wife a good dale better' (Chris Harrison).

Raising of /e/ to /i/ 'your atturney in Dublin is to sind me by your order ...' , 'I am ridy and willing to sign everything' (Cecily Byrne).

GRAMMAR

Unstressed declarative 'do' Unstressed declarative *do* is still present in written language of the 1730s and 1740s as evidenced in many of the Mahon letters so that it must have been available to speakers of Irish switching to English. '... he was of opinon (sic!) himself that that concern did belong to him and it was to be determined by the opinon of lawyers...' (Elli Mahon, 1739). 'I do assure you that I have been blamed by all my friends' (Anne Kelly 1762).

Non-standard subject concord Third person plural nouns tend to occur with an inflected verb: 'The same day your wines was sent you by the carman...' (Chris Harrison). 'such papers as is necessary for securing you and your heirs ...' (Cecily Byrne). This is a common feature of Dublin English and generally in east coast varieties. It is widely attested in the plays of Sean O'Casey (see relevant section below). On this feature in southern Irish English in general, see McCafferty (2004).

'Be' used as auxiliary Cecily Byrne (1763), mother writing on behalf of her daughter: 'I am just come ...'.

Table 2.1 *Features in the Mahon letters*

PRONUNCIATION		
	Dentalisation before /r/	Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ (now obsolete)
	Raising of /æ/ before /r/	Unraised ME /eː/, /ɛː/
	Raising of /e/ to /i/ (now obsolete)	
GRAMMAR		
	Unstressed declarative *do* (now obsolete)	Non-standard subject concord *Be* as auxiliary

2.2 19th century letters

The National Library of Ireland contains a large number of letters from various emigrants before leaving Ireland. In many cases the letters are to ship's contractors asking for information about how to gain a ticket for the passage to an overseas location, typically to the United States or Canada.

PRONUNCIATION

Raising of /e/ to /i/ There are numerous attestations of this common raising, especially before nasals, e.g. *ingage* for *engage* (James Monaghan, 1864), *intiligance* (James Gilgan, 1864), *imbark* for *embark* (letter not signed).

GRAMMAR

First person singular as habitual There are two letters by Kean O'Hara from St John's, Jamaica, 1818-9, back to relatives in Ireland (National Library of Ireland, Ms. 20.298) which are slightly earlier than the other letters considered here. O'Hara's spelling is erratic, e.g. he has 'wrighting' for 'writing', and he is non-standard in his use of language which makes his letters a good source for features. For instance, he uses unmarked adverbs as in 'I think if they act prudent they may live comfortable with that (sum of thirty pounds - RH)'. But the feature of particular interest which is well attested in his letters is the use of the first person singular as an habitual, e.g. 'I hopes the [ ] family are well ...', 'I hopes you will except (sic!) my thanks for the same ...' (Kean O'Hara, 1818-9). This usage is still to be found in east coast varieties of Irish English (Hickey 2001a: 14-16).

Second person personal pronouns Use of *ye* as second person plural pronoun: 'I beg to ask the last request of ye', 'I wrote to ye 8 days ago saying I would be ready' (Bridget Dwyer, 1864, Kerry).

These instances are from letters written by a woman from the south-west of Ireland, an area which was largely Irish-speaking in the middle of the 19th century. The influence of Irish *sibh* 'you-PLURAL' on the retention of archaic *ye* for use in the plural can be assumed here. Irish patterns of pronominal usage also had an effect on English in Dublin. The common Dublin form *youse* is a clear case of regular plural formation – *youse* < *you* + {S} – by Irish speakers shifting to English (Hickey 2003b). Whether this form arose in Dublin or spread to there from the rural hinterland is a question which cannot be answered today.

'Be' as auxiliary The use of forms of 'be' as an auxiliary is a feature which is attested to this day in Irish English, e.g. *They're (= are) gone to town.* Its use with verbs of motion and state is an inheritance from earlier varieties of English which themselves have this usage from Germanic practice, cf. present-day German where this is still the case. Examples in the documents for 19th century Irish English show this clearly, e.g. in a personal journal by one Thomas Henry Edwards (National Library of Ireland, Ms. 16136) there are sentences like 'I am arrived safe at the close of another week ...' (23 Sept., 1843).

Lack of 'for to' filter '...will arrive in Livirpool (sic!) for to emigrate to America ...', 'and for to let me know the sixteen day in July next that meself and my children will get bearth for to emigrate to America.' (Patrick Lavelle 1864 – location unknown).

This use of *for to* infinitives is a feature which is not found at all in the plays of O'Casey (see section 3.2. below, some 60 years later). However, it is abundant in the dramatic work of John Millington Synge who attempted to represent the language of Irish peasants in his plays, e.g. PEGEEN Six yards of stuff for to make a yellow gown. *Playboy of the Western World* (1907). The apparently greater use of *for to* infinitives in rural forms of Irish English may be due to supportive transfer from Irish which uses the word *chun* 'in order to' before infinitives of purpose as seen in the following example:

> *Chuaigh sé go mBaile Átha Cliath chun gluaisteán a cheannaigh.*
> [went he to Dublin in order to car COMP buy]
> 'He went to Dublin for to buy a car.'

Table 2.2 *Features in 19th century letters*

PRONUNCIATION
- Raising of /e/ to /i/ (now obsolete)

GRAMMAR
- First person singular as habitual
- *Be* as auxiliary
- Second person personal pronouns
- Lack of *for to* filter

2.2.1 The Owens Letters

This collection consists of four long letters written by Stephen Owens, apparently from Skerries in North Dublin (then separate, now virtually a part of metropolitan Dublin), who had emigrated to a town called Clontarf (named after the suburb in Dublin) in the state of Minnesota. The letters are from 1899 as far as can be made out. Stephen Owens corresponds with his niece Celia in Skerries and appears to be in his seventies himself. Given his age at the time of writing one can take it that his speech is typical of the mid 19th century when Stephen Owens was a young man (on the assumption of 'apparent time' in sociolinguistics, Chambers 1995: 193-200).

The value of these documents lies in the candid manner in which Stephen Owens writes, including what must have been features of his own speech in the letters. The following gives some indication of what the language of this correspondence is like. The abbreviation 'OL' in brackets stands for

'Owens Letters' and the number to the individual letters in the order in which they are present in the manuscript collection at the National Library of Ireland.

PRONUNCIATION

Use of [grænt] *(stop devoicing after sonorants)* There are not many pronunciation features in evidence in the Owens Letters. The writer would seem to have taken care with English spelling, indeed in the following quotation he actually changed the final *t* to *d* as a correction afterwards, realising that his pronunciation is not reflected in standard English spelling: 'Well we had grant weather here this fall just like summer' (OL, 3).

MORPHOLOGY

'Come' as preterite 'It made me feel very good to get the shamrocks, it come in good shape [and] was nice and green' (OL, 4).

'Seen' as preterite 'I never seen her, she was not born when I left Ireland' (OL, 2), 'It is 49 years last February since I seen your mother...' (OL, 2).

'Them' as demonstrative 'I am thankfull to you for them papers you sent me ...' (OL, 3).

Use of 'youse' 'I am glad youse like them pictures I sent youse.' (OL, 2), 'You say youse had a very severe frost.' (OL, 2), 'Your brother John is taking a long journey from youse all.' (OL, 3), '... and ½ years wont be long going around untill youse see him again.' (OL, 3), 'You told me in your letter youse sent out 11 young people from Skerries lately. Them is the kind is wanting.' (OL, 2).

Unmarked adverbs 'I am awful sorry' (OL, 2).

SYNTAX

Non-standard subject concord: Singular inflection for 3rd person plural 'Myself and Mrs Owens was sorrow to hear of your brother James sickeness', 'I think his fair will be a success, there is great crowds here.' (OL, 1), 'Saint Paul is 140 miles from Clontarf where he[r] father and mother lives and us all.' (OL, 1), 'Some farmers has little or no crops ...' (OL, 2), 'Myself and Mrs Owens sends you all our best love and so does all your friends out here' (OL, 2).

Lack of inflection in 3rd person for auxiliaries 'Your aunt don't hear so well' (OL, 3), 'He don't like me to beat him' (OL, 3).

Lack of subject relative pronoun 'Them is the kind Ø is wanting.' (OL, 2).

Bare infinitive vs. to *infinitive* 'I like him very much, he does come Ø see us quite often ... (OL, 2).

'Be' as auxiliary 'Winter is just begun' (OL, 2).

Habitual aspect with unstressed 'do' 'I and him does have great times nights playing checkers ...' (OL, 1).

Note. The Owens letters, transcribed and in type-written form, stem from the collection of Minnesota letters donated by Prof. Kirby Miller to the National Library of Ireland to whom the author is indebted for placing this valuable source of 19th century Dublin English in the public domain.

Table 2.3 *Features in the Owens letters*

PRONUNCIATION		
	Stop devoicing after sonorants	
MORPHOLOGY		
	Come as preterite	*Seen* as preterite
	Them as demonstrative	Use of *youse*
	Unmarked adverbs	
SYNTAX		
	Non-standard subject concord	No inflection in 3rd person for auxiliaries
	No subject relative pronoun	Bare infinitive vs. *to* infinitive
	Be as auxiliary	Habitual aspect with unstressed *do*

3 Literary texts as linguistic evidence

In the context of Irish English there has been much discussion in recent decades of the value of literary texts for linguistic analysis. This discussion was initiated by the publication in Bliss (1979) of several texts from the early modern period which supposedly represented features of Irish English from this period. The texts which were analysed by Bliss had a number of sources: some were by Irish authors and many were by English writers. Furthermore, they differed in nature: some were satires of the linguistic mores of the Irish, some were more serious in tone. The value of such texts as linguistic sources has been much discussed, positively by authors such as Sullivan (1976, 1980) and critically by the many reviewers of Bliss (1979), see Hickey (2002e: 126f.) for a list. Despite all the reservations of the critics, the cautious use of literary texts as linguistic evidence seems justified to the present author (see discussions in Hickey 2003a: 259ff.). If the authors of texts are Irish and the genre is drama – as is the case in the following – then many of the reservations can be disregarded. Both Dion Boucicault and Sean O'Casey were born in Dublin so they can be assumed to have had a first-hand knowledge of local varieties of English there. Both wrote dramas in which the spoken word is obviously dominant. The nature of their plays differs, however. While Boucicault wrote slapstick comedy, O'Casey's plays are of a much more serious nature. Nonetheless, both are concerned to represent local speech by manipulations of English orthography and syntax. Given what is known about present-day Dublin English it is possible to recognise features of local varieties in the city and hence trace back their history through these authors with reasonable certainty.

3.1 The plays of Dion Boucicault

Dion Boucicault was born in Dublin in 1820 and died in New York in 1890. He received his college education at University College London. Boucicault started writing early, his first play *London Assurance* (1841) was very successful. He later chose Irish themes which he often treated in a stock fashion with much imitation of Irish speech through 'eye dialect'. He later worked in America where his plays, with their stereotypical portrayal of Irish figures, were received well by the general public. The three most popular of these – *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), *Arrah na Pogue* (1864), *The Shaughraun* (1874) – are the best known of his later plays and have been included in *A Corpus of Irish English* (Hickey 2003a) as they represent the speech of Irish drama before the Irish Literary Renaissance and Lady Gregory.

In the following paragraphs examples for non-standard features of Dublin English from the above three plays are quoted. For the present purposes the plays are not further differentiated as they are very similar in theme and style. These plays are available in electronic form in *A Corpus of Irish English* (Hickey 2003a).

PRONUNCIATION

Fortition of fricatives in THINK and THIS lexical sets 'DANNY I'd like to light my pipe wid it.', 'MYLES I shot the poor boy - but widout manin' to hurt him.'

Dentalisation of alveolars before /r/ 'FEENY When a man thravels wid a big lump of money in his pocket, he is offering a reward for his own murdher.'

Post sonorant devoicing 'FEENY Whisht, you'll rise the soldiers, an' I'll be kilt.', 'ARRAH ... and hung me to the dure-post beyant ...'

Unshifted ME /eː, ɛː / 'ARRAH I'll lave a hot whatemale cake on the griddle ...', 'FEENY Aisy, now, Arrah.', 'OINY Now, boys, let us kape watch over the young masther ...', 'FEENY ... or me aither.'

Remnants of diphthongisation before velarised /l/ In present-day Dublin English this feature is restricted to the words *old* and *bold*, but with Boucicault a much wider range of words show this diphthongisation, e.g. 'REGAN I will hould the hill here below, and watch the barracks.', 'ARRAH ... and he tould me not to tell you a word.', 'OINY Not a sowl can hear ye, barrin' ourselves.', 'FEENY The place will be too hot to howld ye ...', 'MYLES Cowld is it.'

High back vowel before /r/ This feature is a remnant of input varieties of English (and is found recessively in Ulster Scots). 'SHAUN ... open the dure softly', 'SHAUN I won't, dear - av coorse - why would I?', 'DANNY ... put her aboord a three-master widout sayin' a word'.

Metathesis of short vowel and /r/ Although the metathesis in *pretty* is no longer to be found in Dublin English, some words still show this feature (in unstressed syllables), e.g. *modern* [ˈmɒdrən], *pattern* [ˈpætrən]. 'ARRAH Isn't this purty thratement for a lone woman?', 'CONN I purtended that the tears runnin' down my nose was with the laffin'.', 'MRS O'KELLY Heaven bless an' purtect every hair of your head'.

Metathesis of /sk/ to /ks/ This particular instance of metathesis has virtually disappeared from Irish English. The present author has heard it on one or two occasions with rural speakers in the south-east of Ireland, but never in Dublin English. It would seem to be an archaic feature of input varieties of English and is attested in other varieties of English (Wright 1905). 'SHAUN ... and divil a word I'll ax, but open my mouth ...', 'ARRAH ... when I axed ye to say the word.', 'ARRAH No! no! don't ax me.'

Epenthesis in heterorganic sonorant clusters In supraregional Irish English and in non-vernacular Dublin English vowel epenthesis is confined to clusters of /lm/ as seen in words like *film* [ˈfɪləm] or *helm* [ˈhɛləm]. Its occurrence in /rm/ clusters is still to be found in local varieties. 'FATHER TOM What harrum had ye agin the poor Colleen Bawn?'

Epenthetic /t/ after /s/ 'SHAUN No! I don't find it convanient to be in two places at onst.'

Unconditional raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ 'ARRAH ... my heart goes wid ye and keeps stip beside you ...', 'DANNY Expict is it?', 'DANNY ... the shadow of an illegant gintleman ...', 'MYLES Here I am, your riverince, never fear.', 'MYLES ... a present of the contimpt of a rogue.'

Raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals 'ARRAH ... it goes sore agin me to be decavin' the poor boy this way.', 'ARRAH ... my life 'ud be the only rint we ever paid ...', 'SHAUN ... I look upon as my inimy.', 'CONN It's too hard on me intirely.'

Final /-o:/ shifted to /-i:/ 'DANNY Wouldn't I swally every tear in your body ...', 'MYLES Didn't I lave the world to folly ye ...'

Back – front vowel alternations 'ARRAH ... than if I wor a wet sod of turf.', 'SHAUN ... they wor sarched ...', 'MYLES "Good morrow, good Dan, ses I", - jest that ways entirely - "it's an opening to the heart to see you".'

Morphology

'Ye' / 'yer' as second person pronouns 'FEENY ... I will set a pack of redcoats on yer scent that will scour these hills and hunt the life out of ye.', 'SHAUN ... Would ye take a sup first, or will ye dance dhry?', 'ALL Pat, ye schamer, clare yer pipes.'

'Youse' as second person pronoun 'DANNY Here is a lether she bade me give yuz.'

'Yez' as second person pronoun 'DANNY Arrah! whist aroon! wouldn't I die for yez?'

'Them' as demonstrative pronoun 'MYLES ... them stones is the place where they lie out of a night ...'

'Took' as past participle 'OINY "I am the man", ses he, and so he was tuk.', 'ARRAH And he won't be tuk from me agin ...'

SYNTAX

A cursory glance at the plays of Boucicault shows that their syntax is not particularly remarkable. It is very different from that used by the dramatist John Millington Synge, some forty years later, in his attempt to represent the speech of rural inhabitants from the west of Ireland in his plays.

In the three plays taken as the basis for the current review of linguistic features there is not a single instance of *for to* as in *He went to the house for to speak to her.* Nor are there any examples of the concessive use of *and* + V-*ing* as in *He went out and it raining.* These facts are all the more surprising as Boucicault went to considerable lengths with eye dialect in the portrayal of the characters in his plays. If the structures just mentioned occurred abundantly in the Dublin English of his time, then it is reasonable to assume that he would have used them, as later writers such as Gregory and Synge did (for western varieties of Irish English).

To determine whether Boucicault used any nonstandard syntax a search was done – using *Corpus Presenter* (Hickey 2003a) – across the three plays examined here to see whether the habitual with unstressed *do* or the immediate perfective with *after* were to be found at all. There are only three instances of the habitual and only two instances of the immediate perfective with *after*, and one of the latter is in a song inserted into a play. The question here is why one has these very low occurrences of structures which are known to be typical of vernacular varieties of English, both in Dublin and throughout Ireland.

One answer is that these particular features were typical of rural Irish English. Certainly those authors who strove to represent the language of rural inhabitants of western Ireland in their plays, notably Lady Augusta Gregory and John Millington Synge, used both the habitual and the immediate perfective repeatedly in dramatic dialogue as can be seen from the following representative selection from their works.

Habitual with 'do be' Lady Augusta Gregory: 'HANRAHAN It is the tongue that does be giving out lies', 'MARY GILLIS ... the name of a vagabond heathen poet does be filling the long roads ...' (*Hanrahan's Oath*). 'MICHAEL MISKELL Ah, there does be a great deal of gaps ...', 'MRS DONOHOE ... the grass does be very sweet', 'MIKE MCINERNEY ... this man does be weak an odd time ...' (*The Workhouse Ward*)

John Millington Synge: 'MICHAEL It's often his reverence does be in there playing cards' (*The Tinker's Wedding*), 'NORA Herself does be saying prayers half through the night' (*Riders to the Sea*), 'MARY DOUL like the wet wind does be blowing upon us' (*The Well of the Saints*).

Immediate perfective with 'after + V-*ing'* 'Lady Augusta Gregory: 'MARY GILLIS ... the time he came back after having drink taken at the's wake?' (*Hanrahan's Oath*). 'TIM CASEY ... first cousin that is standing south of the church after selling his lambs.' (*Spreading the News*)

John Millington Synge: 'NORA ... and he after eating nothing since the sun went up.,' (*Riders to the Sea*), 'MARY ... and you're after waking me up, ...' (*The Tinker's Wedding*), 'PEGEEN I'm after going down and reading the crimes of Ireland' (*The Playboy of the Western World*).

If these structures are rural in their origin then the next question is how they managed to infiltrate Dublin English during the 19th century. This question has a fairly direct answer: the population of Dublin increased by about 10% in the middle of the 19th century (Dudley Edwards 1973: 218). The influx of rural speakers was due to flight from the land because of potato famine, especially in the years 1845-8 and immediately afterwards. If one considers that there was also emigration from Dublin to anglophone locations overseas, such as the New World and Australia / New Zealand, then the numbers of rural Irish moving to Dublin would have been even more than 10%. These people would have carried with them the two aspectual structures under consideration here and these could then have disseminated into Dublin English. It is worth noting that the immediate perfective with *after* + V-*ing* did not become stigmatised (Hickey 2000a) and hence entered the supraregional standard of English in Ireland, including in this case what was later (after 1920) to be Northern Ireland.

Habitual with 'do be' 'MOYA Never fear! sure he does be always telling me my heart is too near my mouth.' *The Shaughraun* (1875), 'ARRAH Sure I do be ashamed, sir.', 'SHAUN I do be afraid to go near some girls for fear spoilin' their new and beautiful clothes' *Arrah na Pogue* (1864)

This form of the habitual becomes established fairly quickly in Dublin English and is to be found in the work of Sean O'Casey (see below). Another twentieth century dramatist, Brendan Behan (1923-1964), has instances of this structure although he has virtually no other features of Dublin English in his plays: ‘You do be singing to keep yourself company?’, ‘It’s my opinion that old Healey does be half-jarred a deal of the time anyway.’ *The Quare Fellow* (1954).

There are no instances of *bees*, the favoured form of the habitual in contemporary Ulster in any of the plays considered here.

Immediate perfective with ‘after + V-*ing’* ‘MRS O’KELLY And after letting me throw all the money away over the wake!’ *The Shaughraun* (1875).

The only instance in *The Colleen Bawn* (1860) occurs in a small song which occurs within the play: ‘But don’t ye be after forgettin’ Your pretty girl milking her cow’.

‘Devil’ as negator ‘FEENY Oh! divil a fear o’ that, your honour’

VOCABULARY

The following are a selection of specifically Irish lexical items to be found in Buocicault’s plays. For a detailed discussion of vocabulary in Irish, see the relevant section of part II above.

‘SHAUN Tim Conolly, is it colloguin’ (= conferring) wid two girls at a time you are (Dolan 1998: 71)’, ‘HARDRESS ... the place smells like a shebeen. (= country pub)’, ‘CONN There’s a rat in the chimbley! (= chimney)’, ‘CONN ... and be jabers (= exclamation) I’ll show them the finest run of the huntin’ sayson.’

Table 3.1 *Features in Dion Boucicault’s plays*

PRONUNCIATION

Remnants of diphthongisation before velarised /l/
Fortition of ambidental fricatives
Post sonorant devoicing
High back vowel before /r/
Metathesis of /sk/ to /ks/
Epenthetic /t/ after /s/
Raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals
Back – front vowel alternations
Dentalisation of /t, d/ before /r/
Unshifted ME /e:, ɛ:/
Metathesis of short vowel and /r/
Epenthesis in sonorant clusters
Unconditional raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/
Final /-o:/ shifted to /-i:/

MORPHOLOGY

Ye / *yer* as second person pronouns
Yez as second person pronoun
Took as past participle
Youse as second person pronoun
Them as demonstrative pronoun

SYNTAX

Habitual with *do be*	*Devil* as negator
Immediate perfective with *after* + V-*ing*	

3.2 The plays of Sean O'Casey

Sean O'Casey (1880-1964) was born in poor circumstances in Dublin and like most of his contemporary literary colleagues went to England to live. He began his career as a dramatist rather late but produced three fine plays in quick succession which are generally regarded as his masterpieces. These are *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) which have been examined for the present section (for discussions of O'Casey's language from a literary standpoint, see Schrank 1978, 1985, 1988; Snowden 1972). His later plays, such as his fourth, *The Silver Tassie* (1928), already represent a departure from his earlier realistic style and a move towards more symbolic dramatic work.

In linguistic terms O'Casey is to Dublin what Synge is to the rural west: a writer who chose the speech of his environment for dramatic effect and who attempted to depict what he regarded as the genuine speech of the local population (Dolan 1985; Kearney 1988; Schrank 1985, 1988; see also Hickey 2002e: 216-8 for an overview of available studies with annotations). This is certainly true of Dublin English as found in O'Casey's plays and is confirmed by later authors working in a similar vein and of course by present-day Dublin English which continues many, but by no means all, of the features illustrated by O'Casey's work.

PHONOLOGY

Post-sonorant devoicing 'MARY [looking at the paper]. On a little bye-road, out beyant Finglas, he was found.'

Post-sonorant stop deletion 'MRS. BOYLE. You'd think he was bringin' twenty poun's a week into the house the way he's going on.', 'MRS. BOYLE [piteously]. If he gets win' o' the word ...'

Fricative + stop cluster reduction 'JOHNNY. I hate assin' him for anythin'.... He hates to be assed to stir.', 'JOHNNY. Why do you ass me that, why do you ass me that?'

Alveolarisation of velar nasals 'MRS. BOYLE. Oh, he'll come in when he likes; struttin' about the town ...', 'MRS. BOYLE. Well, he was here lookin' for you.'

Dentalisation of alveolars before /-r/ 'MARY. The full details are in it this mornin'; seven wounds he had - one entherin' the neck, with an exit wound beneath the left shoulder-blade; another in the left breast penethratin' the heart, an' ...', 'MRS. BOYLE. If you weren't well yourself you'd like somebody to bring you in a dhrink o' wather.', 'MARY ... it looks betther than the blue.'

Open realisation of LOT vowel 'MRS. BOYLE. Wan victim wasn't enough.', 'MRS. BOYLE. When the employers sacrifice wan victim ...', 'BOYLE. Sassige! Well, let her keep her sassige.'

Remnant of raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ 'SECOND IRREGULAR. ... come on – here, Dermot, ketch his arm.', 'MRS. MADIGAN. ... says he, ketchin' hould of a danglin' bramble branch ...'

Remnant of raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ 'MRS. BOYLE: Yis.'

Unraised Middle English /ɛː, eː/ 'MRS. BOYLE I killin' meself workin', an' he sthruttin' about from mornin' till night like a paycock!', 'JOHNNY. Tay, tay, tay! You're always thinkin' o' tay.', 'MRS. BOYLE. You'll find he's ayther in Ryan's or Foley's.', 'BOYLE. ... an' we can saunther down at our ayse.', 'JOXER. Didja ever rade Elizabeth ...'

Shift of unstressed final /o/ to /i/ or /ə 'JOHNNY. If a man was dyin', you'd thry to make him swally a cup o' tay! ', 'BOYLE. I'll folly him, I'll folly him, an' bring him back ...', 'BOYLE. Wan single, solitary tanner left out of all I borreyed', 'BOYLE ... but Deirdre of the Sorras ...', 'BOYLE. ... that fella ud give you a pain in your face.', 'BOYLE ... it was only a shadda he saw.'

Informal word formations with final /-o/ 'MRS. BOYLE. Shovel! Ah, then, me boyo, ...', 'MRS. BOYLE. Then, me bucko, if you lose this chance ...'

Reflex of mid back vowel before former velarised /l/ + stop 'JOXER He's an oul' butty o' mine - oh, he's a darlin' man, a daarlin' man.', 'MRS. BOYLE. ... an' then sail in with the boul' Joxer...' (*oul'* /aul/ and *boul'* /baul/ are realisations of *old* and *bold* respectively).

/mi/ as realisation for ‘my(self)’ ‘MRS. BOYLE. God knows I went down on me bended knees ...’, ‘BOYLE. I’d hardly believe I ever had a pain in me legs ...’, ‘BOYLE. Devine – maybe you know more about the pains in me legs than meself that has them?’

/bi/ as realisation for ‘by’ ‘JOHNNY. I won’t stop here be myself!’

Deletion of /w/ in ‘would’ ‘BOYLE. I tell you; it ud choke me afther all that’s been said.’, ‘JOXER. ... it ud put years on me.’

MORPHOLOGY

Oblique personal pronoun as demonstrative third person plural ‘BOYLE ‘We don’t forget, we don’t forget them things, Joxer.’

‘Yous(e)’ as second personal plural pronoun ‘JOHNNY [springing up from the fire]. Oh, quit that readin’ for God’s sake! Are yous losin’ all your feelin’s?’, ‘MRS. BOYLE. ... the employers think they’re givin’ yous too much money.’, ‘BOYLE. D’ye hear me talkin’ to yous?’, ‘MRS. BOYLE. Yous’ll touch nothin’ here – how do I know who yous are?’

Singular reference ‘ye’ (archaic second person plural pronoun) BOYLE. How d’ye expect me to be able to go up a ladder with these legs?’

‘Amn’t’ as contraction of ‘am’ and ‘not’ ‘MRS. BOYLE. Amn’t I nicely handicapped with the whole o’ yous!’

‘Seen’ as preterite ‘MRS. BOYLE. No, but you seen Joxer.’, ‘BOYLE. ‘I seen you talking to Father Farrell’.

‘Done’ as preterite ‘BOYLE. An’ who done it then?’, ‘BOYLE. The boyo that’s afther doin’ it to Mary done it to me as well.’

‘Blew’ as past participle ‘MRS. BOYLE. ...and his arm was blew off in the fight in O’Connell Street.’

Unmarked adverbs ‘BOYLE. You think too sudden sometimes, Joxer.’

SYNTAX

Immediate perfective with 'after + V-*ing* 'MRS. BOYLE. ... he's afther wearin' out the unemployment dole', 'JOXER. You're afther takin' the word out o' me mouth.', 'JOXER Ah no, ah no; he wouldn't be afther doin' that now.'

Subordinating 'and' 'MRS. BOYLE. Everybody callin' you "Captain", an' you only wanst on the wather.', 'MRS. BOYLE. ... for it ud be hard for him to see you, an' you stuck in Ryan's snug.

Habitual with 'do be' 'DAVOREN Yes – no, no; I didn't know him, no, I didn't know him, Minnie. Is it the Maguire that does be with Mr Shields?', 'SEUMAS Oh, this house is all right; barrin' the children, it does be quiet. ', 'MINNIE I do be on the watch every night; have you anything?', 'SEUMAS I had rheumatic fever a few years ago, an' ever since I do be a – , do be a little deaf sometimes.'

Subject concord: Singular inflection for 3rd person plural 'BOYLE while all the time the lawyers is gobblin' it up', 'MRS. BOYLE. ... is me throubles never goin' to be over?', 'BOYLE. The blinds is down, Joxer, the blinds is down!'

Double comparatives 'MRS. BOYLE. ... people is always far more comfortabler here.'

Lack of negator contraction 'MRS. BOYLE. I'll not wait much longer for him.', 'MRS. BOYLE ... he'll not come back till evenin', ...'

Lack of negative attraction 'BOYLE. I want no breakfast, I tell you.'

Use of 'no' for 'not' in independent position 'MARY. I'm sure you're frettin', da, whether it is or no.', 'MRS. BOYLE. It's lookin' as if he was paid, whether he refuses or no.'

Negative concord 'MRS. BOYLE. ... as if we never seen nothin'.'

Punctual 'never' 'BOYLE. No, I never went out.', 'JUNO. It's curious, then, you never heard the knockin'.'

VOCABULARY

Archaic/regional lexical items 'BOYLE. Chiselurs (= children) don't care a damn now about their parents', 'BOYLE. ... the whole worl's in a state o' chassis!'

Productive formations in '-er' 'JOXER. An' mebbe get a bullet in the kisser (= mouth)?'

Table 3.2 *Features in Sean O'Casey's plays*

PHONOLOGY

Post-sonorant devoicing
Fricative + stop cluster reduction
Dentalisation of alveolars before /-r/
Remnant of raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/
Unraised Middle English /ɛː, eː/
Informal word formations in /-o/
/bi/ as realisation for *by*

Post-sonorant stop deletion
Alveolarisation of velar nasals
Open realisation of LOT vowel
Remnant of raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/
Shift of final /o/ to /i/ or /ə/
/mi/ as realisation for *my(self)*
Deletion of /w/ in *would*

Diphthongisation before former velarised /l/ + stop

MORPHOLOGY

Oblique personal pronoun as demonstrative third person plural
Yous(e) as second personal plural pronoun
Singular reference *ye* (archaic second person plural pronoun)
Amn't as contraction of *am* and *not*

Seen as preterite
Blew as past participle

Done as preterite
Unmarked adverbs

SYNTAX

Immediate perfective with *after* + V-*ing*

Subordinating *and*
Non-standard subject concord
Lack of negator contraction
Negative concord

Habitual with *do be*
Double comparatives
Lack of negative attraction
Punctual *never*

Use of *no* for *not* in independent position

4 Prescriptive comments by Dublin authors

4.1 Thomas Sheridan

So far literary texts and personal letters have been examined as sources of non-standard features in diachronic Dublin English. However, there is another source which can be tapped when attempting to reconstruct the main features of Dublin English in the 18th century. This is a prescriptive work by the Irish elocutionist Thomas Sheridan (1719-1788), father of the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), see Sheldon (1967), Kelly (1997) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1990, 1991).

Sheridan is important in the history of Irish English as the author of *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* (1781) which contains a section on the Irish pronunciation of English. In an appendix (Sheridan 1781: 137-55, see also Sheridan 1967) he includes a section entitled 'Rules to be observed by the natives of Ireland in order to attain a just pronunciation of English'. Sheridan obviously felt the need to offer such a set of rules stemming directly from his interest in elocution (the epithet 'rhetorical' in the title refers to just this aspect of the work). He travelled widely, lecturing on this subject, and had a considerable influence on other authors, notably on the London-born John Walker who published a 'critical pronouncing dictionary of the English language' (Walker 1791) much in the vein of Sheridan's *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (Sheridan 1970).

In the appendix to his grammar Sheridan compares the pronunciation of Irish English with southern British English. He is fairly accurate in his description and in the representation of vowel quality he is much more precise than the glossarists of Forth and Bargy (see section III 6.3 *The dialect of Forth and Bargy* below). The Irish English forms which he quotes are those in which 'well-educated natives of Ireland differ from those of England' (1781: 146). By this group Sheridan is referring to the Protestant middle and upper class given the fact that at the end of the 18th century only Protestant could be meant by the attribute 'well-educated'. At this time the middle class of the city was prospering (see Moody and Martin, eds, 1967: 232ff. and Johnston 1974: 77ff., 1994 for descriptions of Dublin at the end of the 18th century). This social group enjoyed more than ever before independence from England (up to the 'Act of Union', Johnston 1974: 164ff., Ó Tuathaigh 1972: 29ff.). Here one must consider the differences in social position between the group, which Sheridan takes as a basis for his presentation, and that group which is taken for the description of the conservative city dialect of Dublin in section II above). Despite this social discrepancy the factual difference is probably not that great.

On the one hand the English of the middle class group of speakers was certainly not subject to the levelling tendency of the educated variety spoken by the comparable social group nowadays. On the other hand Dublin at this time (Craig 1969) enjoyed a certain political freedom in the latter half of the 18th century and this would have minimised the direct influence of south-eastern British English on the Irish pronunciation of English.

Although one can determine Sheridan's group of speakers fairly easily, it is not so apparent just what he regarded as the standard English which he refers to and who is supposed to have spoken it. In the preface to his grammar he talks of 'our pronunciation' (1781: xxii) and refers to Johnson with regard to spelling (1781: xxiii). He further notes that the pronunciation of English by the people in Ireland, Scotland and Wales can deviate from a standard without offering any more specific information on what he regards this standard to be. His praising remarks (1781: xix) on the correct pronunciation of the 'Augustan Age' in England (Sheridan was after all the godson of Swift, Croghan 1990), are of little help. From this one can only conclude that Sheridan was a prescriptivist and assumed a conservative variety of southern British English as a yardstick with which to compare the Irish English of his time. Given the imprecision with which Sheridan treats the notion of 'standard', the language of south-east England, i.e. of London and the Home Counties of his time, will be taken for the purposes of comparison.

4.1.1 Sheridan's system of pronunciation

In order to describe the special features of Dublin English Sheridan employs a system of notation in which the five vowel graphemes (and *y*) are used together with a number (from 1 to 3) as a diacritic to denote possible vowel values in Irish English (Sheridan 1781: 151). In the original the number is actually placed over the vowel. For technical reasons, it is placed here as a superscript digit to the right of the vowel letter. In his text, Sheridan organises the vowel values into three columns as follows:

(1)	First	Second	Third
a	*ha*^{1}*t*	*ha*^{2}*te*	*ha*^{3}*ll*
e	*be*^{1}*t*	*be*^{2}*ar*	*be*^{3}*er*
i	*fi*^{1}*t*	*fi*^{2}*ght*	*fi*^{3}*eld*
o	*no*^{1}*t*	*no*^{2}*te*	*no*^{3}*ose*
u	*bu*^{1}*t*	*bu*^{2}*sh*	*blu*^{3}*e*
y	*love-ly*^{1}	*ly*^{2}*e*	

Sheridan also offers some notes in which he explains his transcriptional system:

> All improper diphthongs, or, as I have called them digraphs, I mean where two vowels are joined in writing, to represent any of the simple sounds in the scheme, are changed in the second column into the single vowels which they stand for; as thus
>
> *bear* *be^{2}re* *hear* *he^{3}re*
> *fourth* *fo^{2}rth* *door* *do^{2}re*
>
> (Sheridan 1781: 152)

The 'final mute *e*' is added to certain words in Sheridan's pronunciation system in order to disambiguate the transcriptions.

Some of the vowels present difficulties here. The vowel *a*^{3} cannot be decided upon definitely. It is true that /au/ before /l/ in the early modern English period (Dobson 1968: 603ff.) went to /ɔː/, but in Irish English this vowel was not raised but remained at a value /ɑː/ which it essentially still has to this day.

The vowel *u*^{1} has to be read as /ʌ/ although this interpretation leads to unexpected values in Dublin English. The reasons are as follows: Sheridan gives two short vowels for *u*. As one of the two is /ʊ/, the vowel in ***bush***, the only other possibility of *u*^{1} is /ʌ/, especially as Sheridan used *u*^{1} for transcribing unstressed vowels.

(2) a. *nation* *na^{2}shu^{1}n*
b. *chorus* *ko^{2}ru^{1}s* (Sheridan 1781: 154)

In this case he equates the unrounded and lowered vowel /ʌ/ with the unstressed schwa /ə/. Sheridan also recognised different short vowels before /r/ which is obvious from the following examples.

(3) a. /ʌ/ : *stir* *stu^{1}r,* *bird* *bu^{1}rd*
b. /ɛ/ *birth* *be^{1}rth* (Sheridan 1781: 152)

This distinction of a back and a front short vowel before historical /r/ is still typical of conservative Dublin English where the pronunciation of the last word would be [bɛː(ɹ)t̪]. This distinction is not part of the supraregional standard of English in present-day Ireland.

4.1.2 Non-standard vowel values

Sheridan's 'Rules to be observed by the natives of Ireland' also contains a number of remarks on the 'mistakes' which the Irish make when speaking English. At one point he offers a list consisting of two columns with Irish and English pronunciations of keywords respectively. This list refers mainly to vowels and is a useful guide to middle class Dublin usage during the latter half of 18th century. Many forms are instances of hypercorrection. Furthermore, some of the words quoted by Sheridan seem to be lexicalised exceptions to general English sound shifts. For instance, Sheridan quotes 'drought' as having the pronunciation *dro*^{3}*th* /druːt̪/ in Ireland, but there is no further evidence for the non-diphthongisation of Middle English /uː/ to /au/ at this late stage of early modern Irish English (but see example from the end of the 16th century in section 5.3 *Parodies of Irish English* below). In the following discussion *SBE* stands for 'Southern British English'.

18c IrE /uː/ : SBE /oː/ In the late Middle English period there was some fluctuation between /oː/ and /uː/ (Dobson 1968: 681ff.). Some words which later appear with /oː/ show /uː/ in Sheridan's list. These are instances of the failure of /uː/ to diphthongise before /r/ (Dobson 1968: 688ff.).

(4) a. *do*^{3}*re* /duːr/ 'door'
b. *flo*^{3}*re* /fluːr/ 'floor'
c. *co*^{3}*urse* /kuːrs/

18c IrE /eː/ : SBE /iː/ The lack of raising which this correspondence indicates is a well-known characteristic of Irish English, both north and south, and is still found in present-day vernaculars (Milroy and Harris 1980). From the point of view of Middle English one has a collapse of the distinction between /ɛː/ and /eː/ but no further shift to /iː/: *least* /leːst/, *deal* /deːl/, *beet* /beːt/.

Sheridan's group of speakers would seem to have been aware of this feature of Irish English and it is understandable that, in attempts to avoid the local pronunciation, they engaged in hypercorrection by shifting all instances of /eː/ to /iː/, even where this was not justified etymologically.

(5) a. *prey* → *pree*
b. *convey* → *convee*
c. *bear* → *beer* (Sheridan 1781: 143)

This hypercorrection was noted by other authors as well. For instance, Maria Edgeworth in her *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802) remarked that 'There are Irish ladies, who, ashamed of their country, betray themselves by mincing out their abjuration, by calling tables *teebles*, and chairs *cheers*!' (Crowley 2000: 136).

18c IrE /ʌ/ : SBE /ʊ/ If one started from present-day Dublin English then one would expect that the present correspondence would be the reverse because conservative popular Dublin English generally lacks /ʌ/. On several occasions, however, Sheridan indicates that the /ʌ/ vowel was to be found in the Dublin of his time.

(6) a. *pu*^{1}*lpit* /pʌlpɪt/ c. *pu*^{1}*dding* /pʌdɪŋ/
c. *bu*^{1}*sh* /bʌʃ/ d. *bu*^{1}*ll* /bʌl/

Furthermore, he lists words which show the /ʌ/ vowel: *bull*, *bush*, *push*, *pull*, *pulpit* all but the last of which have /ʊ/ in (southern) Irish English today. Bearing in mind that Sheridan's speaker group was that of 'well-educated natives' one can safely assume that the above instances are cases of hypercorrection parallel to the unconditioned shifting of /eː/ to /iː/ mentioned in the previous paragraph.

18c IrE /aː/ : SBE /eː/ In keeping with the lack of shift for historical /eː/ to /iː/ one also finds that /aː/ is not always raised to /eː/: *patron* /paːtrən/, *matron* /maːtrən/. Sheridan remarks that forms such as just quoted have the same vowel as in *father*. Unshifted ME /aː/ was obviously a salient feature of 18th century Irish English and appears abundantly in parody literature, e.g. in George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707) as seen in the following extract.

> FOIGARD Ireland! No, joy. Fat sort of plaace (= [plaːs]) is dat saam (= [saːm]) Ireland? Dey say de people are catcht dere when dey are young.

This realisation has been lost everywhere in Ireland as a result of later superimposition of more standard pronunciations. Occasionally one has spelling pronunciations like *status* [staːtəs] or *data* [daːtə] which is not a remnant of the former situation, however.

18c IrE /iː/ : SBE /ai/ References to an /iː/ pronunciation in cases where SBE has /ai/ are not very numerous in Sheridan. For instance, he gives the following form: *Mi*^{3}*kil* /miːkəl/, compare English *Mi*^{2}*kil* /maikəl/ which he also quotes. However, this may be a transfer of the vowel value in the Irish form of the name, *Mícheál* /ˈmʲiːhɑːl/, despite the medial stop in English.

18c IrE /ɛ/ : SBE /æ/ Sheridan's list of words contains the following forms.

(7) a. *ke*^{1}*tch* /kɛtʃ/ 'catch'
b. *ge*^{1}*ther* /gɛd̠ər/ 'gather' (Sheridan 1781: 144)

They are indicative of a general raising of short /æ/ (from Middle English /a/). This raising would seem to have been general in Ireland before the 19th century and is found in the glossaries for Forth and Bargy (see section 6.4 below). Indeed a general raising would help to account for the tendency in present-day supraregional Irish English to avoid the use of /ɛ/ and lower the vowel to something near the cardinal vowel /a/. Nonetheless, a raising realisation of /æ/ is still common in south-western varieties of Irish English and more generally in all vernacular varieties – including Dublin English – in the position before /-r/, e.g. *part* [pɛːɹt̰], *car* [kɛːɹ].

Alternation among high vowels A notable feature of the dialect of Forth and Bargy and of dialects of Irish is the interchange of short high vowels. In the dialect glossaries some words are attested with both /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. In Sheridan's list there is some evidence for this as well as with *inion* /ɪnjən/ 'onion'. This realisation may have been inherited from English input and received support from Irish. The form just quoted is confirmed by Joyce (1979 [1910]: 100). For present-day Dublin English, Bertz (1975: 117) denies that it is still found.

4.1.3 Conditioned realisations

Diphthongisation before /l/+C The diphthongisation of back vowels before /l/C is a typical phonological process of the Middle English period (Prins 1974: 147; Wełna 1978: 193). It presupposes the velarisation of /l/ as the diphthong can only have arisen through the migration of a [^{u}] off-glide towards the velarised [ɫ] into a syllable nucleus.

The matter is not quite straightforward for Irish English as this today shows a generalised alveolar [l] in all syllable positions (except for newer varieties of Dublin English, see III *English in present-day Dublin* above). This is probably a more recent development, stemming ultimately from the use of a non-palatal /l/ for English /l/ in all positions by speakers of Irish during the period of greatest language shift between the mid 17th and the late 19th century (Hickey 1986a).

Now the first indications of the velar diphthongisation of back vowels is to be found in the 15th century (Wełna 1978: 192ff.) so that it is quite possible that the diphthong in question was already present in Irish English in the first period (before the 17th century). Other English authors note this, e.g. John Ray in *A collection of English words not generally used* (1674) mentions the vocalisation of velar [ɫ] before /d/ in words like *caud* (*cold*) and *aud* (*old*) (Ihalainen 1994: 202).

Sheridan gives two forms with the diphthong. These show that Middle English proceeded from /oːld/ to /ould/ and further to /au/ in Ireland as it also did in Scotland: *cowld* /kauld/ 'cold', *bowld* /bauld/ 'bold'. In Dublin English, the /l/ is still retained, i.e. it is not vocalised as a result of diphthongisation. These and similar realisations are still quite common in the speech of Dion Boucicault's plays (see section 3.1 above).

Lowering of /e/ before /r/ This is a phonological process which is widely attested in Irish English historically, not least in the glossaries of Forth and Bargy and is indicated by Sheridan in the word *sa*^{1}*rch* /saːrtʃ/ 'search'. Given the relative shortness of Sheridan's list one can assume that the non-standard forms which he quotes are merely intended to be indicative and not exhaustive. If this is correct, one can further assume that this lowering before /r/ was a general feature of Irish English up to the 19th century (again see section 3.1 above on the language of Dion Boucicault's plays). It has been entirely removed by superimposition of later more standard pronunciations and cannot be used as a diagnostic for present-day Irish English.

Vowel lengthening before voiceless fricatives The long vowel in a word like *last*, *path* or *staff* has its origin in a lengthening of inherited /a/ which occurred in the south of England and which, along with other isoglosses, divides the country in two (Wakelin 1977 [1972]: 86f.). The occurrence or lack of this lengthening is one of the major defining features for general southern Irish English vis à vis the dialects of the east coast (from north of Dublin down to

Waterford) which stem from the first period of English settlement. Short vowels before voiceless fricatives have been remarked on by some authors, cf. Hogan (1927: 63). Sheridan's material is not so clear on this matter. He quotes the word *wrath* and the adjective *wroth* 'angry' with long and short vowels respectively in SBE but a short and long vowel in Irish English.

(8) a. *wrath* IrE *wra*^{1}*th* /ræt̪/ SBE *wra*^{3}*th* /rɔːθ/
b. *wroth* IrE *wra*^{3}*th* /rɒːt̪/ SBE *wro*^{1}*th* /rɒθ/

When discussing his pronunciation system he quotes the word *la*^{1}*ftu*^{1}*r* /læftər/ 'laughter' with a short vowel. Seeing as how the lengthening of low vowels before voiceless fricatives is attested by the end of the 17th century (Prins 1974: 145f.) it is safe to conclude that educated Irish English did not have this lengthening. The situation in popular Dublin English is clouded by the fact that here there is a general lengthening of low vowels (Hickey 1986b) which encompasses those before voiceless fricatives irrespective of the fact that they were originally short. In other areas of the east coast, e.g. in Waterford, which do not have a general lengthening of low vowels, /a/ before voiceless fricatives is short (Hickey 2001a: 6).

Lack of rounding of /a/ after /w/ A further development in early modern English is the rounding and retraction of short /æ/ in a position after /w/ or /hw/, but not before velars, e.g. *wander, what* but *wag*. This probably started in the 16th century and was adopted into more standard forms of English in the 17th century (Prins 1974: 149f.). Sheridan shows that this rounding had not occurred in Dublin English by the end of the 18th century: *squa*^{1}*dron* /skwædrən/ = *squo*^{1}*dron* /skwɒdrən/ and is still not found in popular Dublin English.

Cluster simplification In the relatively short word list Sheridan offers two words, already attested in the *Kildare Poems* and in the dialect of Forth and Bargy, which show a simplification of clusters: *lenth* /lɛnt̪/ 'length' and *strenth* /strɛnt̪/ 'strength'. The typical instance of such simplification in present-day English, namely nasal and stop in word-final position, as in *ground, band*, is not given. It may well be that reduction of clusters in this position was too salient a feature of popular Dublin English and hence avoided by his speaker group. Final cluster reduction is, however, well-attested before the 18th century and is still a marked feature of popular Dublin English.

Dentalisation before /r/ Of all the features of late 18th century Dublin English that of dentalisation before /r/ is explained most clearly by Sheridan. In his remarks on /t/ (1781: 35) he notes that the Irish 'thicken *t* (and *d*) so that they say *betther* for *better* and *utther* for *utter'*. It is clear subsequently that he is talking of dentalisation: 'this faulty manner arises from the same cause that was mentioned as affecting the sound of the *d*, I mean the protruding of the tongue so as to touch the teeth.' He furthermore recognises that there is a morphological alternation of alveolar and dental stops in the comparison of adjectives: 'thus though they (the Dublin Irish, RH) sound the *d* right in the positives *loud* and *broad*, in the comparative degree they thicken it by an aspiration; and sound it as if it were written *loudher*, *broadher* (1781: 29). This pronunciation has been and still is very widespread in vernacular forms of English throughout all of Ireland.

4.1.4 Word stress

From Sheridan's system of vowel quantity notation there would seem to have been a correlation between quantity and stress placement in early modern Irish English. Consider first the manner in which accent is noted by Sheridan:

> 'The accent is placed throughout over the letter on which it is laid in pronunciation; over the vowel, when the stress of the voice is on the vowel; over the consonant when the stress is on that as thus –
>
> | Consonant subscript | Vowel subscript |
> |---|---|
> | $stu^{1}r^{\prime}$ | $be^{2\prime}re$ |
> | $lu^{1}v^{\prime}$ | $he^{3\prime}re$ |
> | $bi^{1}z^{\prime}zy$ | $gro^{2\prime}ne$ |
> | $la^{1}f^{\prime}tu^{1}r$ | $so^{2\prime}shal$ |
>
> The syllables of words are divided according to the mode of pronouncing them; that is, all letters which are united in utterance in the same syllable, are here kept together also in writing, and separated from the rest; ...'
>
> (Sheridan 1781: 155)

Statements such as the above have to be interpreted in modern terms to make sense. Sheridan would appear to view all consonants which follow on a short vowel as belonging to the same syllable. His superscript stroke indicates the end of the syllable. This device is usually superfluous, however. With the following forms, for instance, the superscript digit indicates a long vowel and an interpretation via the syllable structure is not necessary.

(9) a. IrE: *ze*^{2}*alous* /zeːləs/ SBE: *ze*^{1}*llus* /zɛləs/
b. IrE: *ze*^{2}*alot* /zeːlət/ SBE: *ze*^{1}*llut* /zɛlət/

Long vowels occur in Sheridan's list in final position where English has a short unstressed vowel, cf. *cla*^{1}*'mour* /klaːmuːr/ – *cla*^{1}*'mur* /klæmər/. Furthermore, one also finds that words of three syllables with a short stressed middle vowel have a long vowel in Sheridan's speaker group (Sheridan 1781: 146).

(10) a. IrE: *ende*^{2}*avour* /ɛnˈdeːvuːr/ SBE: *ende*^{1}*v'ur* /ɛnˈdɛvər/
b. IrE: *mali*^{3}*cious* /məˈliːʃəs/ SBE: *mali*^{1}*sh'us* /məˈlɪʃəs/

This vowel length is a conservative trait as is the lack of accent shift to the front of words which is also attested by Sheridan.

(11) IrE: *mischi*^{3}*'evous* /mɪsˈtʃiːvuːs/ SBE: *mi*^{1}*s'chivous* /ˈmɪstʃɪvəs/

Some of his transcriptions show deviations in the supposedly English forms. For instance, he contrasts long and short vowels in Irish and English pronunciation which in the latter only have long vowels today.

(12) a. IrE: *che*^{3}*ar'ful* /tʃeːrfʊl/ SBE: *che*^{1}*r'ful* /tʃɛ(r)fʊl/
b. IrE: *fe*^{3}*ar'ful* /feːrfʊl/ SBE: *fe*^{1}*r'ful* /fɛ(r)fʊl/

4.1.5 Summary

By and large one can say that Sheridan's prescriptive comments on late 18th century Dublin English provide a useful glimpse of what pronunciation must have been like at the time. Especially in the area of vowels, Sheridan provides information which corroborates findings for present-day popular Dublin English. The area of consonants was not dealt with in any great detail by Sheridan – something which has been typical of the elocutionary tradition since then – so that confirmation or refutation of such typical present-day features as *t*-lenition is unfortunately not forthcoming from Sheridan's rhetorical grammar.

Table 4.1 *Features in Sheridan's grammar*

	present-day Dublin English
IrE /uː/ for SBE /oː/	—
IrE /eː/ : SBE /iː/	in local DE
IrE /ʌ/ : SBE /ʊ/	—
IrE /aː/ : SBE /eː/	in a few forms
IrE /iː/ : SBE /ai/	—
IrE /ɛ/ : SBE /æ/	—
Alternation among high vowels (*inion, jist*)	—
Diphthongisation before /l/+C (*cauld, hauld*)	with *old, bold*
Lowering of /e/ before /r/	—
Vowel lengthening before voiceless fricatives	variable
Lack of rounding of /a/ after /w/	in local DE
Cluster simplification	in local DE
Dentalisation before /r/	in local DE

4.2 Swift and Irish English

As an author with a keen sense of language, a Dubliner and Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral at the beginning of the 18th century, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) would have been an ideal commentator on the kind of English spoken in the city, especially as this would appear to have been in contact with Irish (Ó Háinle 1986). However, he left no direct comments on Irish English, though he had much to say about the English language (Strang 1967). There are, however, two small satirical pieces in which he pokes fun at the language used by the descendants of English settlers in the Ireland of his time. These are *A Dialogue in Hybernian Stile* (c. 1735) and *Irish Eloquence* (somewhat later), see editions in Bliss (1977a) and Kniezsa (1985, 1991) as well. The latter is taken to be connected to the first, the material being presented as a letter (Bliss 1979: 72). The former has been considered here as it is in the form of a conversation and can be taken to be closer to actual speech than the letter arrangement of the second piece.

A Dialogue in Hybernian Stile is a brief exchange between two individuals A and B. A would appear to be a town dweller (and his speech may well be based on English in Dublin) and is inquiring about the life-style of B who is a planter with a country house. The piece is quite short – some 40 lines – but it does reveal, in the speech of A, two features of urban Irish English at the beginning of the 18th century.

Oblique personal pronoun as demonstrative third person plural:
A. Them apples is very good.

Subject concord: Singular inflection for 3rd person plural:

A. Them apples is very good.

5 Early modern Dublin English

When one moves back beyond the 18th century, documents from Ireland or those putatively containing Irish English fall into three main types.

Table 5.1 *Pre-18th century documents for Irish English*

1)	Parodies of Irish people in plays	Late 16th and 17th centuries
2)	Municipal records from Dublin	15th and 16th centuries
3)	Poetry	early 14th century

There is no inbuilt distinction between Irish English in general and Dublin English in particular in types (1) and (3) above. Type (2) can, given the source of the texts, be taken to reflect Dublin usage of the period from which they stem. For type (1) the caveat that one is as often as not dealing with an English perception of Irish English must be repeated. The first two types are discussed in this section, while type three is treated in the next section on medieval Irish English.

5.1 Parodies of Irish English

Stereotypes of Irish English have a long pedigree and their occurrence can be traced back to the late 16th century, to Richard Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland* in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577). No less writers than Shakespeare and Ben Jonson attempted to represent Irish English in their plays. Shakespeare did so in the figure of Captain Macmorris in the 'Four Nations Scene' in *Henry V* (1599, see Shakespeare 1995), whereas Jonson dedicated a small piece to a (ridiculous) portrayal of Irish English, *The Irish Masque at Court* (1613/1616, see Jonson 1969).

Shakespeare does not disclose many features of Irish English in the speech of Macmorris. In fact the only feature one can clearly recognise is the use of [ʃ] for [s] in unchecked final position.

(1) MACMORRIS. Of my nation? What ish my nation? Ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?

Henry V (1599, III.2)

Jonson's masque is much more revealing as it is dedicated to a portrayal of Irish characters and because Jonson went to considerable lengths to represent Irish speech here. His characterisation was based on certain features of Irish English which had become established by then and indeed must have been obvious to English observers (which would imply that they were of considerable vintage to have become stereotypical of Irish English outside of the country). For instance, virtually every instance of /s/ is written as *sh,* i.e. [ʃ], – as with Shakespeare – and all cases of initial *wh-* [ʍ] are rendered orthographically as *ph-* or *f-*, deriving from Irish /f/ [ɸ]. Jonson also indicates all ambidental fricatives as *t* which stands for either [t] or [t̪] (it is not possible to say which, going on his orthographic evidence).

(2) *For chreeshes sayk, phair ish te king?*
'For Christ's sake, where is the king?'
Peash, ant take heet, vat tou shaysht, man.
'Peace, and take heed, what thou sayest, man'

The Irish Masque at Court (1613/1616)

There may be a degree of exaggeration in Jonson's portrayal of Irish English, or he may simply not have understood the distribution of certain sounds, e.g. the use of [ʃ] in initial, pre-vocalic position – as in *shaysht* – may not be correct, as this is not attested elsewhere for Irish English.

Another early source of data for Irish English is an anonymous play called *Captain Thomas Stukeley.* The main character of the play is, however, an historical figure who was active in Ireland in the 1560s (Bliss 1979: 32f.), particularly in the defence of Dundalk during a siege by the native Irish in 1566. It contains a single scene in Irish English, the seventh scene, which by some curious twist is present in two consecutive versions in the edition. The first version is in blank verse, like the remainder of the play, and the second version is in prose. Bliss (*loc. cit.*) supports the view that the Irish English scene is not by the author of the rest of the play and attributes a good knowledge of Irish affairs to its original composer. There are discussions of this play in older literature, notably Duggan (1969 [1937]: 51-57) and Bartley (1954: 14-16).

The following extract from the Irish scene consists of speech by Shane Oneale who shows features which appear to be genuine for Irish English in the late 16th century.

(3) Oneale. Fate is the token? Fate siegne that Brian Mack Phelem said he would hang oot?
Oneale. Tish some English churle in the toone that coughes, that is dree, some prood English souldior hees a dree cough, can drinke no vater. The English churle dees if he get not bread and porrage and a hoose to lee in: but looke is the sieegne oote, zeele cut his troate and help him of his cough fan I get into Dundalk.

Captain Thomas Stukeley (1596/1605)

fate = 'what', *oot* = 'out', *tish* = 'it is', *toone* = 'town', *dree* = 'dry', *prood* = 'proud', *vater* = 'water', *dees* = 'dies', *hoose* = 'house', *lee* = 'lie', *zeele* = 'I will', *troate* = 'throat', *fan* = 'when'

Even this short stretch shows many features which are known from other sources to have been typical of Irish English. The spelling *sh* indicates [ʃ] in postvocalic, prepausal position. The use of this sound most probably derives from Irish speakers using the palatal /s^{j}/ [ʃ] of their native language as an equivalent to English /s/, particularly after high vowels and in unchecked position. This usage is found to this day in contact Irish English, albeit recessively. Another prominent feature in this extract is the use of <*f*> to indicate the sound which the Irish used for English words beginning with <*wh*>. Again from contact Irish English (Hickey 1986a, Ó Baoill, Dónall 1990, 1991) it is known that Irish speakers, especially from the west and north, use the realisation of their /f/ phoneme, i.e. [ɸ], as an equivalent of English [ʍ], the conservative realisation of the initial sound of *wh*-words. This is clearly seen in the two alternative anglicisations of the Irish name *Ó Faoláin*, either *Pheelan* or *Wheelan*, where <*Ph*> can be taken to indicate [ɸ]. In this context one can also remark on the use of <v> at the beginning of *water* which may have been used to indicate [β], the voiced equivalent of [ɸ].

The last consonantal feature of note in the above lines is indicated by the use of <*t*> for <*th*> in *troate* 'throat'. This surely shows the fortition of English /θ/ to a stop in Irish English, the realisation being either alveolar or a dental depending on time and region.

The remaining features of the above extract concern vowel realisations. It is clear from the non-standard values, glossed after the extract, that Irish

English had not gone through the major English vowel shift which moved all long vowels realisations upwards: the unshifted /iː/ is indicated in spellings like *dees, dree, lee* while the unshifted /uː/ is shown by *hoose, prood, toone*. Furthermore, one knows from many Irish loanwords, such as *bácús* /baːkuːs/ 'bakehouse' and *faoitín* /ɸiːtʲiːnʲ/ 'whiting', that a stage of English in Ireland existed which had no trace of the vowel shift. In particular it would seem that ME /uː/ has not shifted to /au/ nor had ME /iː/ to /ai/. To the present-day there are non-shifted realisations of ME /eː/ and /ɛː/ which are still available in vernacular pronunciations of standard English forms. However, the unshifted values of ModE /ai/ and /au/, i.e. /iː/ and /uː/ respectively, are nowhere to be found in Ireland, having been replaced by later, more standard pronunciations.

Unrelated to the Great Vowel Shift but nonetheless relevant in this context is the continuing existence of /ʊ/ in Dublin English. The difficulty with looking for evidence for this in older texts is that it is not indicated orthographically. But given that the unrounding and lowering of Early Modern English short /ʊ/ in southern British English in the mid-17th century (Dobson 1968: 585ff.) was an innovation it is fair to assume that for texts like those above the pronunciation [ʊ] would have been used for words written *but, some*, etc.

Table 5.2 *Features in early modern parodies of Irish English*

		present-day Dublin English
1)	Substitution of /s/ by /ʃ/	–
2)	Use of Irish [ɸ] for [ʍ]	–
3)	Fortition of /θ, ð/ to /t, d; t̪, d̪/	✓
4)	Unshifted ME /iː, aː, uː/	in local DE with ME /ɛː, eː/

5.1.1 Stereotypical speech features

The type of accent imitation to be seen in the above texts achieved quite a vogue and is to be found in many later literary parodies, particular those of Restoration comedy in the second half of the 17th century (see Bliss 1979), establishing the literary stereotype known as the *stage Irishman* which has had a long tradition reaching into the 20th century (see Duggan 1969 [1937] and Bartley 1954 for comprehensive treatments of this topic). Apart from the character and the situations typical for such a drama figure there is also a conception of the speech suitable for his portrayal and many guides and handbooks for actors include chapters on Irish English and the modifications of an actor's speech necessary to simulate an Irish stage accent. For instance, Blunt in his *Stage dialects* (1967: 75-90) and *More stages dialects* (1980: 68-71) lists features which also have a foundation in local speech in Ireland, particularly that of Dublin. A more thorough discussion is to be found in Bartley and Sims (1949) where they attempt to reconstruct stage Irish pronunciation before the 19th century and list six essential features.

Table 5.3 *Reconstructed pre-19th century stage Irish pronunciation*

1) /ʃ/ for /s/
2) Affricate simplification /tʃ/ → /ʃ/
3) Plosivisation of /θ, ð/
4) Use of /f/ for /hw/ [ʍ]
5) Substitution of voiced stops by voiceless ones word-finally
6) /eː/ for both ME /eː/ and /ɛː/, e.g. *Jesus* /dʒeːzɪz/, *meat* /mɛːt/

Although stage dialect instructions can only be rough approximations to a genuine accent, these guides do show what features authors regard as salient and serve to confirm many of the central features assumed for Dublin English stretching back into the past.

5.2 Municipal records from Dublin

The first texts for Dublin English are available from the middle of the 15th century, a good century later than the *Kildare Poems* (see section 6 below). In all cases one is dealing with documents of the city administration. These were composed in Latin or French up to 1451 (Hogan 1927: 30; Henry 1958: 64 mentions the year 1447) and afterwards in English. There are two main sets of texts. The first are from the corporation and as known as the Calendar of Ancient Records (Henry *loc. cit.*). The second are the Records of the Dublin Guild of Merchants, documents from some of the twenty five guilds of Dublin at that time (Hogan 1927: 31). There are also municipal texts from other cities, notably Waterford and Galway. The phonological characteristics of these texts can be listed in tabular form as follows (see Hogan 1927: 31 as well).

Table 5.4 *Features of earliest Dublin municipal records*

1) Vowel raising before nasal + stop cluster, e.g. *stone* 'stand'
2) Stop deletion after nasals, e.g. *strone* 'strand'
3) High vowels in unstressed position, e.g. *folli* 'follow'
4) Final devoicing of alveolars in unstressed position, e.g. *beyont* 'beyond'
5) Short vowels in open syllables, e.g. *nose* /nɔz/
6) Affricates after high vowels in certain words, e.g. *byge* /bɪdʒ/ 'buy'
7) The substitution of [ʍ] by [ɸ], e.g. *fite* [ɸiːt] 'white'
8) Non-etymological [h] in syllable initial position, e.g. *hall* 'all'
9) The raising of Middle English /e/ to /i/, e.g. *tin* 'ten'

The above features are typical of Irish English in the period before the zenith of re-Gaelicisation in the 16th century. Some of them are still to be found in Dublin English. For instance, the use of high vowels in unstressed position, as in *folli* 'follow', and the final devoicing of alveolars, again in unstressed position, as in *beyont* 'beyond', are features which are just as frequently found in contemporary local Dublin English. Equally the deletion of stops after nasals is still found in popular Dublin English, e.g. *pound* [pɛʊn].

Feature 8 could be due to an Anglo-Norman scribal tradition (and which is responsible for spellings like *hour* and *honour* in Modern English). But this does not explain the occurrence of non-etymological *h* in initial position with a quantifier (*all*) as the Anglo-Norman examples are confined to nouns.

The raising of vowels before nasal and stop clusters – even if the stop is deleted, see (2) – is most likely an inherited feature of the input dialects of Middle English to Ireland. Certainly for later Dublin English, the lowering of back vowels has been typical, up until the new pronunciation of the 1990s which reversed this trend.

6 Medieval Irish English

6.1 The Kildare Poems

The earliest attestations of 'Medieval Irish English', as the language of this time is termed by older authors such as Hogan (1927: 5) and Henry (1958: 62), are contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS Harley 913, and are known under the title *Kildare Poems*. The name derives from the presumed place of composition: the county of Kildare south-west of Dublin. There are editions by Wilhelm Heuser (1904) and Angela Lucas (1995) and comments in Hickey (1993). The collection consists of some 16 poems in English along with material in French and Latin. It is generally assumed that the *Kildare Poems* date from the early 14th century. The extent to which the language of the *Kildare Poems* can be equated with early Dublin English is a vexed issue as there are no comparable attestations for the capital city. Indeed it may be the case that the *Kildare Poems* were composed by native speaker(s) of Irish using English, for them a written H-variety. However, because the *Kildare Poems* (and a very few smaller pieces, Zettersten 1967) are the only attestations before the municipal records from Dublin, they will be considered here with the usual caveats operating.

The language of the *Kildare Poems* is fairly unremarkable by Middle English standards but shows a certain amount of phonological interference from Irish (Hickey 1993). Given the relatively small size of the English-using community in early 14th century Ireland and the proximity of Kildare to Dublin (less than 30 miles) it can probably be assumed that the English language as used in the poems was not very different from that used in Dublin. Even to this day the immediate hinterland of Dublin, to which Co. Kildare belongs, share all major linguistics features with metropolitan Dublin.

There are a couple of other attestations of Medieval Irish English, notably those contained in the Loscombe Manuscript: with the poems 'On blood-letting' and 'The virtue of herbs' which according to the analyses of Heuser, Wilhelm (1904: 71-75), Irwin (1933, 1935) and Zettersten (1967) are to considered without a doubt as Irish. Irish English of the 14th century is recorded briefly in two other sources. The first is an account book of the Priory of Holy Trinity Chapel in Dublin, where the poem 'Pride of Life' was discovered. The manuscript was prepared around 1340 (Heuser, Wilhelm 1904: 66). The second source is formed by the 'Acts and Statutes of the City of Waterford' from 1365. Although there is no critical edition of these, there are remarks on their language in Henry (1958: 66). There are a few further manuscripts which are either positively Irish or which can be assumed with reasonable certainty to be so. These are listed in McIntosh and Samuels (1968).

Table 6.1 *Linguistic features of the* Kildare Poems

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1) The fortition of dental fricatives: /θ, ð/ to stops (dental or alveolar) *fallyt* (= *fallyþ*) 'falls', *growit* (= *growiþ*) 'grows', *sayt* (= *sayþ*) 'says'.
2) The substitution of [ʍ] by [ɸ], e.g. *fite* [ɸi:t] 'white'
3) The substitution of [s] by [ʃ], e.g. *grasshe* (= *grass*), *hasshe* (= *has*)

4) Loss of nasals, e.g. *fowden* (= *founden*) 'found', *mouthes* (= *months*) 'months'
5) Loss of initial /h/, e.g. *is* (= *his*) 'his', *abbiþ* (= *habbiþ*) 'has', *ad* (= *had*) 'had'
6) Deletion of post-nasal stops, e.g. *stowne* 'stand', *strone* \`strand′
7) Alternative devoicing of post-nasal stops, e.g. *fent* 'fend', *spent* 'spend'
8) Consonant doubling, e.g. *delle* (= *deal*), *hoppe* (= *hope*), *nosse* (= *nose*) showing a short stressed vowel
9) Vowel raising (i) /a/ *a* to /ɔ/ *o*
10) Vowel raising (ii) /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables
11) Metathesis short vowel and /r/, e.g. *fryst* ← *first, forst* ← *frost*
12) Epenthesis of unstressed, short vowel *Auerill* (= *April*), *uerisse* (= *fresh*)
13) Voicing of initial fricatives, e.g. *uerisse* (= *fresh*), *uadir* (= *father*), *uoxe* (= *fox*), *velle* (= *fell*)

Many of the above features are shared by the municipal records for Dublin, but died out with the first period of Irish English which was over by the late 16th century. For instance, the vowel raising in (9) and (10) is no longer to be found in east coast varieties of Irish English (those the PEN/PIN merger is attested for rural varieties in the South-West of Ireland). The loss of word-initial /h/ – see (5) above – is an example of a feature which is a clear negative diagnostic of Irish English today which never has this deletion.

Feature (3) the substitution of [s] by [ʃ] is not a feature of present-day Dublin English but it does occur in conservative rural forms of western Irish English. This substitution is regarded as an interference Irish from where speakers transferred the realisation of palatal /s^j/, i.e. [ʃ] for /s/ in the environment of high vowels, e.g. *best* [bɛʃt]. This derivation in fact strengthened the argument for the author(s) of the *Kildare Poems* as native speakers of Irish or at the very least strongly influenced by Irish speech.

Some of the features point to the input varieties of Middle English in Ireland. The best example of this is the voicing of initial fricatives, see (13) above, which is a typically southern feature in England.

6.2 The dialect of Fingal

When considering early Irish English one cannot afford to ignore the dialect of Forth and Bargy in the south-east corner of the country (Hickey 1988) and that of Fingal, an area immediately north of Dublin. Heuser, Wilhelm and Henry both see Forth and Bargy and Fingal as 'direct descendants of early Anglo-Irish' (Henry 1958: 62).

Although Ireland was colonised in the late Middle Ages by English speakers, the Gaelicisation which flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries all but deleted traces of the original variety of English spoken in the east of the country. There are two exceptions to this statement. The first concerns an area in the south-east of the country, in the county of Wexford, see following section for more details. The second relict area lies north of the city of Dublin on the border of county Dublin with county Dundalk. It is known as 'Fingal', a term which is an Anglicisation of Irish *Fine Gall*, literally 'territory of foreigners' (now an administrative unit in north Co. Dublin). This designation would seem to point to a Norse settlement north of Dublin, but still within the Pale and furthermore one in which there was close mixing of the Norse and Celtic communities, a view supported by Sommerfelt (1962: 74). There is even a name for them, the *Gall-Ghoídhil*, i.e. the Norse-Irish, if one bears in mind that the term *Gall* 'foreigners' was applied to the Norse in the period of invasion and settlement which began at the start of the 9th century. Sommerfelt entertains the idea that pidgins must have arisen at the interface of the Norse and Celtic communities. However, attractive this view might be in the light of present-day creole studies, there is no linguistic evidence of such pidgins and the Irish language does not show any definitive evidence for creolisation as a result of the influence of pidgin forms of Norse-Irish.

Returning to the area of Fingal one must emphasise that the variety of language spoken there was a form of older English, whatever the Norse-Irish background was which the area had formerly. There is a strong Irish lexical element in the English of Fingal, indeed it is this element which many commentators stress as being the defining difference between the Fingal dialect on the one hand and that of Forth and Bargy on the other (Bliss 1979: 28f.). However, one should not make too much of the difference on these grounds as the glossary of Poole shows quite clearly that a large number of words in the latter dialect derive from Irish, something which is not surprising, given the sustained contact between the inhabitants of Forth and Bargy with the surrounding native Irish.

Early observers of the special position of Fingal, such as Richard Stanyhurst (1965 [1577]) and William Petty (1691) (see Adams 1965) over a century later, do not offer any linguistic evidence of the dialect and so one must rely on fragments obtained from other sources (three of these are included in *A Corpus of Irish English* in Hickey 2003a).

Table 6.2 *Texts for the north Dublin dialect of Fingal*

1) *The Fingallian Dance* (1650-60) , *The* One of two short poems in a manuscript catalogued as MS Sloane 900 in the British Museum. The texts have remained unedited though the second one was printed in a book on Howth (a small town north of Dublin) by F. E. Ball in 1917.
2) *Purgatorium Hibernicum* (1670-75) Also available in MS Sloane 900 under the title *The Fingallian Travesty: or the Sixt Book of Virgills Ænœids A la mode de Fingaule.* No author can safely be named for the work.
3) *The Irish Hudibras* (1689) The latest of three adaptations of book six of Vergil's *Æneid* to which Bliss has given the general title *The Fingallian Burlesque* (Bliss 1979: 47) and in which Aeneas' descent into Hades is transposed to Fingal in north Co. Dublin. The author of this text is not known.

The attestations for the dialect of Fingal are tantalisingly terse. Nonetheless, three features are to be found in texts representing Fingal speech which definitely show the Irish character of the dialect.

Table 6.3 *Linguistic features of Fingal dialect texts*

1) The substitution of [s] by [ʃ] in the environment of high vowels
2) The substitution of [ʍ] by [ϕ], *fat* 'what'
3) Use of [β], [v] for /w/ (*vid* = *with*; *vill* = *will*, etc.)
4) The fortition of dental fricatives: /θ, ð/ to stops (dental or alveolar)
5) Unshifted Middle English /iː/ vowel (*dee* = *thy*; *cheeld* = *child*, etc.)
6) Archaic morphological features such as the /i/-prefix on the past participle (*ycome*, *ygo*, etc.),

6.3 The dialect of Forth and Bargy

In the history of Irish English the extreme south east corner of the country occupies a unique position. The dialect of this area is called after the two baronies in which it was spoken, Forth and Bargy (read: [bargi]) in Co. Wexford. Remnants of the English of the first settlers appears to have survived up to the beginning of the 19th century. The south-east corner of Ireland was the first to be settled in the late Middle Ages and appears to have survived the wave of Gaelicisation which later set in and which continued into the 15th century. Contemporary historians, such as Stanyhurst in his 'Description of Ireland' in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (Stanyhurst 1965 [1577]: 3ff.), mention the resurgence of Irish but also the survival of English on the east coast. Here English developed independently for several centuries under the influence of the surrounding Irish language as seen in the many loans in Forth and Bargy (Hickey 1988).

Knowledge of this dialect is derived from two sources: the first is a 22-page essay with a glossary and some text by Charles Vallancey which was published as a 'Proceeding of the Royal Irish Academy' in 1787-8. The second source is somewhat more substantial (70 pages in all) and consists again of a glossary with some texts which were collected at the end of the 18th century by a Protestant farmer, Jacob Poole, though not published until 1867 by an Anglican clergyman and Dorset poet, Rev. William Barnes (see the foreword in the reprint by Dolan and Ó Muirithe 1996 [1979]: 5). A report by the Englishman J. A. Picton, also dating from 1867, is of secondary interest although it contains an ostensibly original address in the dialect. Two further studies from the 19th century, which, however, hardly add to the decipherment of the dialect, are Hore (1862-3) and Russell (1892 [1857]).

At the beginning of the present century this variety of English aroused a degree of linguistic interest. The philologists Curtis and Hogan comment on the dialect in two works of a general nature on the history of Irish English (Curtis 1919: 248; Hogan 1927: 37ff.). The Celtologist O'Rahilly compared the stress system of this dialect with that of adjacent varieties of Irish (O'Rahilly 1932: 94f.). Since then no further analyses of this variety of Irish English have appeared. Dolan and Ó Muirithe (1996 [1979]) is a reprint of Barnes (1867) which, while it offers some etymological information, does not present a linguistic analysis of the material it presents.

The only scholar who tried to evaluate the material of Forth and Bargy linguistically is Heuser, Wilhelm. He relies on Barnes' edition of Poole (Heuser 1904: 56ff.) and sees the dialect as a continuation of the language of the *Kildare Poems* despite the relatively long period of time which lies between the attestations of the two varieties of diachronic Irish English.

Table 6.4 *Linguistic features of Forth and Bargy as attested in glossaries of Vallancey (1788) and Poole, late 18th century (Barnes 1867)*

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1) Dentalisation in the environment of /r/: *hearth* 'heart', *dhrout* 'drowned', *dhree* 'three', *porther* 'porter'

2) Dentalisastion in the environment of /s/: *stheel* ‘steel’, *sthil* ‘still’, *sthoan* ‘stone’, *vrosth* ‘frost’
3) Dental to labial shift: *brover* ~ *brower* ‘brother’, *aulaveer* ‘altogether’
4) Fricativisation of medial alveolar stops: *bothom* ‘bottom’, *muthon* ‘mutton’, *nitheen* ‘knitting’
5) Fronting of /au/ to [ɛʊ]: *greound* ‘ground’, *keow* ‘cow’, *steout* ‘stout’, *meouth* ‘mouth’
6) The substitution of [s] by [ʃ]: *twish* ‘betwixt’, *treesh* ‘trace’, *treshpass* ‘trespass’
7) The substitution of /hw/ [ʍ] by [ɸ]: *fen* ‘when’, *fidi* ‘whither’, *farthoo* ‘whereto’, *faade* ‘what’
8) Survival of ME /x/: *thaugkt* ← ME *thought* ‘thought’, *bougkt* ← ME *boght* ‘bought’
9) Vowel epenthesis: *knife* /kn-/ → *kunnife* /kən-/, finally in *elles* ‘else’, *callef* ‘calf’, *hallaf* ‘half’.
10) Metathesis: *burgs* ‘bridge’, *aferth* ‘afraid’, *dhrives* (plural form) ‘turf’; *zitchel* (< *swylc* /swyltʃ/)
11) Alternation among high vowels: *rub* ‘rib’, *pit* ‘put’, *zin* ‘sun’
12) Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/: *varreet* ‘forget’, *varreat* ‘forehead’, *zar* ‘serve’, *hardhel* ‘hurdle’
13) Low vowels due to lack of raising: *gaast* ‘ghost’, *haade* ‘head’, *laafe* ‘leaf’, *maate* ‘meat’
14) Back vowels for SBE front vowels: *yullou* ‘yellow’, *shoo* ‘she’ *wull* ‘well’, *vurst, vursth* ‘first’ (retraction after labio-velar), *kotch* ‘catch’
15) Vowel raising before nasals: *lone* ‘land’, *eeloan* ‘island’
16) General vowel lengthening: *woork* ‘work’, *gooun* ‘gun’, *jooudge* ‘judge’, *deed* ‘dead’
17) Lack of major vowel shift: *threeve* ‘thrive’, *deemes* ‘times’, *leen* ‘line’ with /iː/ for /ai/; *laady* ‘lady’, *kaake* ‘cake’, *faace* ‘face’ with /aː/ for /eː/. The shift of /uː/ to /au/ does appear to have occurred, cf. *heouse* ‘house’, *deowne* ‘down’
18) Initial fricative voicing: *vew* ‘few’, *vleeu* ‘flew’, *vurst* ‘first’, *zouth* ‘south’, *zound* ‘sound’
19) Initial voicing of stops: *blenty* ‘plenty’, *boor* ‘poor’; *detch* ‘thatch’, *dap* ‘tap’, *drue* ‘true’
20) Final devoicing: *ee-tolth* ‘told’, *arent* ‘around’, *vorreat* ‘forehead’, *maareet* ‘married’

21) Vocalisation of word-final fricatives: *aboo* ‘above’, *lee* ‘leave’
22) Cluster simplification (word-internal): *shuller* ‘shoulder’, *chaamer* ‘chamber’; *anoor* ‘another’, *shoule* ‘shovel’, *deel* ‘devil’; (word-final): *del* ‘delve’, *zil* ‘self’
23) Word-final stress: *zaˈmoon* ‘salmon’, *smaddeˈreen* ‘smattering’, *licˈkeen* ‘looking’, *chiˈsool* ‘chisel’, *comˈfoort* ‘comfort’, *faˈshoon* ‘fashion’
24) Archaic morphological features: (i) nasal plurals, e.g. *een* ‘eyes’, *shoone* ‘shoes’, *keene* ‘cows’ (cf. EME *kine*), (ii) first person singular *ich* [ɪtʃ] ‘I’ with various syncopated forms, e.g. *cham* ‘I am’ *ichul* ‘I will’, (iii) /i/-prefix on past participles: *ee-happen’d* ‘happened’.
25) Flemish loanwords: *grate* ‘small coin’, *hamas* ‘wooden frame on horse collar’, *prate* ‘talk’, *bibber* ‘shiver’.

It would be quite false to regard the dialect of Forth and Bargy as a predecessor of present-day Dublin English. Certain features are not found anywhere in modern Irish English, e.g. initial fricative voicing, initial voicing of stops, word-final stress patterns (except in trisyllabic verbs like *aggravate*) and the morphological features listed above. Flemish loans have not survived either, with the exception of *hames* which now means ‘complete mess, bungle’. There are nonetheless parallels in present-day vernacular Dublin English and east coast Irish English in general. Some other features are attested elsewhere in the early modern period but have died out since.

Table 6.5 *Parallels between Forth and Bargy and present-day Dublin English*

1) *Dentalisation in the environment of /r/*
    Still found in PDE
2) *Fricativisation of medial alveolar stops*
    Present as *t*-lenition
3) *Fronting of /au/ to [ɛʊ]*
    Typical of entire east coast dialect area
4) *The substitution of [s] by [ʃ]*
    Attested in early modern period, but now obsolete
5) *The substitution of /hw/ [ʍ] by [ɸ]*
    Attested in early modern period, but now obsolete
6) *Vowel epenthesis*
    Attested in /-lm/ clusters, e.g. *film* [fɪləm]

7) *Metathesis*
   Only with some /r/+V clusters, e.g. *modern* [mɒdrən]
8) *Alternation among high vowels*
   Attested in early modern period, but now obsolete
9) *Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/*
   Attested in early modern period, but now obsolete
10) *General vowel lengthening*
    Present in PDE, especially before historic /r/, e.g. *term* [tɛː(ɹ)m], *first* [fʊː(ɹ)st]'
11) *Lack of major vowel shift*
    Recessively with /ɛː, eː/ in PDE, e.g. *meat* [meːt]
12) *Final devoicing*
    Common after sonorants, *killed* [kɪlt], *mind* [məɪnt]
13) *Vocalisation of word-final fricatives*
    Found in PDE, *leave* [lɛː]
14) *Cluster simplification (word-final)*
    Common in PDE, *sound* [sɛʊn]

7 Supraregionalisation

Before broaching the topic of this section it is worth mentioning that for 19th century Irish English there are not just the literary texts and correspondence analysed above but also a few linguistic documents which examine the sounds of English in Ireland. The most important of these is the large-scale study of English pronunciation published by Alexander J. Ellis between 1869 and 1874 which – in volume four – contains various remarks on Irish English (Ellis 1874: 1234ff.).

Ellis is not as valuable a source as Sheridan not because he was writing nearly one hundred years later but because Ellis mixes up various areas within Ireland in his comments. He includes remarks on the English of Belfast and Cork in the same sentence and does not always localise and identify the forms which he quotes. The reason for his choice of towns would seem to have stemmed from his informants, above all David Patterson in Belfast, the author of Patterson (1860).

Despite Ellis's somewhat confused presentation one can recognise typical features of Irish English. The most important of these can be listed as follows (the numbers after the page references indicate the column on the particular page).

Table 7.1 *Features of 19th Irish English as presented by Ellis (1874)*

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1) Dentalisation of alveolar stops before /r/ (1874: 1239,2)
   better [ˈbɛt̪ər], *tree* [t̪riː]
2) Final devoicing with alveolars (1874: 1241,1)
   beyond [bɪˈjant], *grand* [grænt]
3) Exchange of sonorants (1874: 1241,2)
   chimney [ˈtʃɪmbli]
4) Cluster simplification with /-ŋkθ/ (1874: 1241,2)
   strength [strɛnt̪], *length* [lɛnt̪]
5) Unraised ME /eː, ɛː/ for SBE /iː/ (1874: 1235,2)
   meat [meːt̪], *beat* [beːt̪]
6) Vowel lowering before /r/ (1874: 1236,2)
   search [saːrtʃ], *serve* [saːrv]
7) High vowel alternation (1874: 1238,2)
   just [jɪst], *onion* [ɪnjən]

Of the above features some have disappeared entirely, e.g. (3) exchange of sonorants, (6) the lowering of /e/ before /r/ and (7) high vowel alternation. Others have continued to exist but only in vernacular varieties and in conscious contrast to more standard pronunciations, e.g. unraised ME /eː, ɛː/.

For the present section the question arises: why have some features disappeared or been relegated to popular forms of Irish English? The present-day situation points clearly to the superimposition of more standard varieties at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, certain peculiarities which Sheridan regarded as typical of educated Dublin English pronunciation in the late 18th century (see sections 4.1ff. above) changed in the course of the 19th century, e.g. ME /aː/ receded entirely in favour of /eː/ in words like *take*, *matron*. Furthermore, the hypercorrect forms such as *prey* [priː] and *convey* [kənˈviː], noted by Sheridan, died away, being replaced by pronunciations with /eː/.

It is important to stress that the changes one can observe to have taken place were not part of a language-internal change ongoing in Irish English. What did happen, however, is that more standard layers of English were superimposed in the course of time, removing many salient features of earlier Irish English. The process of replacing clearly local forms by less regionally bound ones is termed supraregionalisation (Hickey 2003c).

Having established what the process is, the next question is: why were some features and not others affected by supraregionalisation? For example, the fortition of fricatives in the THINK and THIS lexical sets was not abandoned, nor was the use of a central rather than a retracted low vowel in the BATH lexical class, e.g. [paːs] and not [pɑːs]. On the other hand unshifted ME /eː, ɛː/ is highly recessive and only present in a small set of words in present-day Dublin English where it is used for vernacular effect, e.g. *Jaysus* [dʒɛːzəz], *aisy* [ɛːzi], *tay* [tɛː]. Indeed this was already recessive by the early twentieth century (Hogan 1927: 65).

The reason for the disappearance or the reduced distribution of forms would seem to be connected with their relative salience (Hickey 2000a). Consider the examples just given again. In an English cartoon from 1829 ridiculing the Irish (McGuire 1987: 103), there are a number of forms illustrating what the English perceived as an Irish accent of English, e.g. *asy* and *crater* (both with /ɛː/, not /iː/). The point here is that unshifted ME /eː, ɛː/ has long been perceived as a typical Irish English feature. This has furthermore meant that the rising educated middle class in Ireland during the 19th century would most probably have avoided this feature for fear of sounding too local. The feature was avoided by replacing it with the British English vowel value, i.e. /iː/. This replacement is an instance of supraregionalisation.

It may be asked now, if the replacement took place, why do forms like *aisy* [ɛːzi] or *tay* [tɛː] still exist? The answer is that they serve the purpose of vernacularisation. One can add local flavour to one's speech by deliberately using unshifted ME /eː, ɛː/. The important matter for educated speakers of Irish English is that this dipping into the vernacular is by deliberate choice and only temporary. There is no danger of others assuming that this is one's only pronunciation of the words in question.

7.1 Vernacularisation

In the following some examples are given of pronunciations which have survived in present-day Irish English and Dublin English in particular. They are found when speakers switch to a more local mode for effect. All the features are remnants of previously much wider distributions. Characteristic of all survivals of older pronunciations for vernacularisation purposes is that they have developed slightly different meanings from the words with more standard pronunciations, i.e. a lexical split has occurred. In general, such splits can be seen where two pronunciations of a word with a single etymology survive, e.g.

dough : *duff* 'type of pudding' [northern English]; *tan* : *tawny*; *paralysis* : *palsy*; *person* : *parson.*

Reflexes of /oː/ before velar [ɫ] The words *bold* and *old* have supraregional pronunciations with a mid back vowel which is the equivalent of RP /əʊ/, i.e. [boːld, boʊld] and [oːld, oʊld] respectively. There is an older pronunciation deriving from early modern English which shows diphthongisation before a former velarised [ɫ] and with deletion of the post-sonorant stop, i.e. [baul] and [aul] respectively (see section on Boucicault above where many more forms are quoted). The meanings are approximately [baul] 'sneaking admiration' as in *The* [baul] *Charlie has got away with it again* and [aul] 'old, but viewed affectionately' as in *The* [aul] *boiler won't last the winter.*

Reduction of final /ou/ The word *fellow* has final [oʊ, əʊ] in non-local Dublin English. But a reduction of this vowel to /ə/ is well attested from early modern Irish English as in *yellow* [ˈjɛlə]. There is now a semantic split with *fellow* such that the older pronunciation [ˈfɛlə] means something like 'young man, potential boyfriend' colloquially.

Unshifted ME /eː, ɛː/ The word *cratur* /kreːtəɹ/ is used in the sense of an 'individual worthy of pity', whereas the pronunciation /kriːtʃɚ/ of the same word has the expected meaning of 'being'. Equally, the pronunciation *Jaysus* [dʒɛːzɪz] only occurs as an expletive.

Final devoicing after sonorants This devoicing is an established feature of Irish English and occurs automatically in the appropriate environment. With the word *grand* it has led to the particular meaning of 'keeping well, fine' as seen in *We're* [grænt] *in the new house.*

7.2 Extinct features

Starting from the attestations of Dublin English from the mid-18th century onwards, i.e. since the Mahon Letters, a number of features can be ascertained which are no longer present in any variety of Dublin English.

Raising of /æ/ *to* /ɛ/ Sean O'Casey has several spellings which indicate that the vowel in the TRAP lexical set had a raised pronunciation at the beginning of the 20th century. This had been remarked on by Sheridan in the late 18th century but the lower pronunciation of the vowel seem to have become more and more widespread and is the general realisation for the TRAP vowel in all forms of present-day Irish English. The lowering of the TRAP vowel may well have spread in Dublin English by a process of lexical diffusion as *ketch* is the only spelling to be found in O'Casey's plays which indicates a raised vowel. It may well be that this word was among the last to show the [ɛ] which subsequently came to be replaced by [æ].

Raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ Among the many eye dialect representations of Irish English this feature figures prominently, especially in the early period of attestation. The raising is still to be found abundantly in the plays of Dion Boucicault (1860s and 1870s, see above) but by the beginning of the 20th century it becomes more infrequent, in written representations of course. Sean O'Casey only has the raising in *yis* 'yes' which, in a similar fashion to the 20th century lowering of the TRAP vowel, may indicate that this was one of the few words, if not the only one, in which the raising was still to be found in Dublin English at the time O'Casey was writing (during the 1920s). In present-day Dublin English the raising has been lost entirely and is now only found before nasals in varieties spoken in the south-west and west of the country.

Lack of negator contraction This is a feature which is amply attested in the plays of Sean O'Casey at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. *You'll not shut no door till you've heard what I've got to say* (*Shadow of a Gunman* 1923) but which has disappeared since.

Use of no *for* not *in independent position* A minor feature which is attested in O'Casey's plays is the use of *no* for *not* in independent position as in *I'm sure you're frettin', da, whether it is or no.* This is not a feature which was commented on by authors of the time (or earlier) and has since disappeared entirely from Dublin English.

Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ There is no indication of the lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ in O'Casey's plays, e.g. *search* does not appear as *sarch* as it might be expected to do if this lowering was still present in Dublin English at the beginning of the 20th century.

High back vowels before /r/ According to Sheridan (1781: 144) words like *door* /duːr/, *floor* /fluːr/, *source* /suːrs/, *course* /kuːrs/, *court* /kuːrt/ had a high back vowel before /r/. In southern British English the vowel came to be lowered and this pronunciation was later adopted in Ireland so that no instances of former /-uːr/ exist in Dublin English.

Metathesis of short vowel and /r/ Certain cases of metathesis, e.g. *purty* for *pretty* (attested in the plays of Dion Boucicault, see above) have disappeared entirely as has the case of /ks/ for /sk/ in *ask.*

A number of other archaic pronunciations, which were still to be found in Dublin English at the end of the 18th century (according to Sheridan), have disappeared entirely. For instance, the word *gold* still had the pronunciation /guːld/ (as did *Rome*) in late 18th century Ireland (a pronunciation criticised by Walker). The word *onion* had /ɪnjən/ (Sheridan 1781: 146), an archaic pronunciation attested up to the early twentieth century with Joyce (1979 [1910]). This was recorded by the lexicographer Nathan Bailey in 1726 but was not typical of mainstream pronunciations as Walker notes at the end of the 18th century (Joyce 1979 [1910]: 99). The quantifiers *many* [mæni] and *any* [æni] did not, and sometimes do not yet, show the raising to /e/ which is characteristic of their pronunciation elsewhere. The retraction of /a/ after /(k)w/ was apparently not present in 18th century Irish English as attested in pronunciations like *squadron* [skwadrən] (Sheridan 1781: 146).

7.3 Retention of conditional realisations

Another aspect of supraregionalisation involves phonetically conditioned realisations. If for a given segment a realisation is used, which is the normal allophone of another phoneme in more standard varieties, then this variant may be retained if the phonetic environment clearly defines it. The question here is whether the generalisation is valid that the loss of a feature follows a path through conditional realisation. Consider the following examples.

Table 7.2 *Retention of conditional realisations*

Raising	Previously	Now
/a/ to [æ, ɛ]	Unconditional	Only before /r/, e.g. *park* [pɛːɹk]
	(general in vernacular varieties)	
/ɛ/ to [ɪ]	Unconditional	Only before nasals, e.g. *pen* [pɪn]
	(south-west of Ireland)	

The reason for this might be that conditional realisations are not phonetically salient and hence survive longest. Recall that the alveolar realisation of /t̪/ in *athlete* [ˈætliːt̺] is not stigmatised in Irish English but the unconditional shift of /t̪/ to /t/ in a word like *thick* [tɪk] is (Hickey 2000a).

The retreat of salient non-standard forms might be used to explain phonetically unexpected distributions, such as vowel raising before /r/ whereas retraction of /a/ to /ɑ/ before /r/ is common in many varieties of English.

A former widespread distribution can also take another path, as an alternative to conditional realisation or parallel to it. This is where individual lexical items with the former realisation become confined to a specific register, usually a more colloquial one. Hence the general raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ has been retained in the south-west of Ireland, but the non-conditional realisation, i.e. not pre-nasally, is normally excluded from supraregional varieties and is only found in a few lexicalised items such as *divil* for *devil* in the sense of 'rogue'.

7.4 Supraregional variety as standard

One can often view the supraregional variety of a country as the national standard of that country, even if this has not been formulated explicitly as in the case of Ireland. If a country has a large capital city and is centrally organised, then the basis for the supraregional variety is usually non-local usage of the capital, in this case Dublin. The variety in question is what one could loosely term 'educated' Dublin English, though the aspect of formal education for speakers of this variety should not be overstressed, the main point is that this variety is not the local vernacular. Given the status of Dublin in the Republic of Ireland this variety has spread throughout the entire country and become the de facto standard of English in Ireland.

Speakers in the south of Ireland, who are not bound to their localities in speech, unconsciously know what belongs to the supraregional variety and what features do not. For instance, *h*-dropping, glottalisation of alveolars (Collins and Mees 1996) and syllable-final deletion of /r/ are not features of the supraregional variety. Indeed they could be used in a negative definition of Irish English.

However, the features of this variety are not immutable. The changes which have taken place in Dublin English in the 1990s are spreading rapidly among younger speakers throughout the entire Republic of Ireland (see section II 2.14 *The spread of new Dublin English* above for detailed discussion). This new pronunciation will probably become the new supraregional variety given the influence of Dublin usage on the rest of the country.

The supraregional variety of Irish English is not orthographically encoded and does not seem to figure high in the consciousness of speakers. Speakers can move up and down on a stylistic cline for whatever reason, e.g. vernacularising their speech in, say, a family context or a familiar Irish environment. But there are a large number of speakers from the Republic of Ireland whose default speech style consists of the employment of non-regional phonological, syntactic and lexical features on which there is much unconscious agreement.

IV Guide to the CD-ROM

The CD-ROM accompanying this book contains all the sound files resulting from the investigation of Dublin English. In addition there are maps, images, textual data and software to be found on the CD-ROM. The software comes in two basic types.

1) A Windows programme suite – *Discover Dublin English* – with which you can listen to all the sound files and view much additional data as well. This software must be installed on a PC to run.

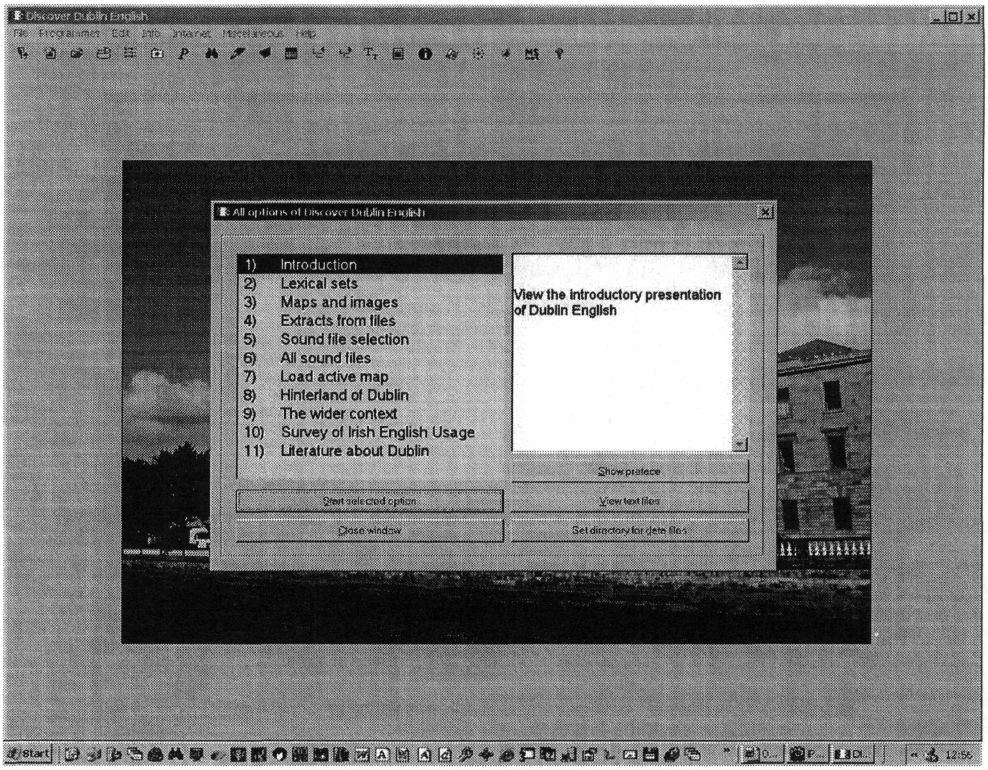
2) A Java version of the above software which can be run without any installation and which can be loaded on an Apple *Macintosh* just as easily as on a PC.

In both cases you can access all the sound files and most of the additional data, although there are a few restrictions with the Java version. It is recommended that you start with the Java version as this will run on all types of computers and under the various operating systems which are current today (including Linux). To read about the Java version, go straight to section 1.4 below.

The sound files which are mentioned explicitly in this book have been chosen from the entire set because they illustrate points about Dublin English particularly clearly. To access these sound files click on the items in the tables under the tree node *Sound files referred to in book* (in the *Java* version) or by clicking on the menu option with the same name in *Discover Dublin English* (both on the accompanying CD-ROM).

1.1 The Discover Dublin English *programme*

The purpose of the Windows programme *Discover Dublin English* is to offer readers of the current book an easy-to-use interface to the sound files, maps, images and text files contained on the accompanying CD-ROM. From within the programme one can listen to any of the supplied sound files, view any of the auxiliary text files which are also included on the CD-ROM such as the overview of Irish history and of Irish English as well as the biographical notes



Discover Dublin English
File Programmes Edit Info Internet Miscellaneous Help
All options of Discover Dublin English
Show preface
Start selected option
View text files
Close window
Set directory for data files
Start
12:56

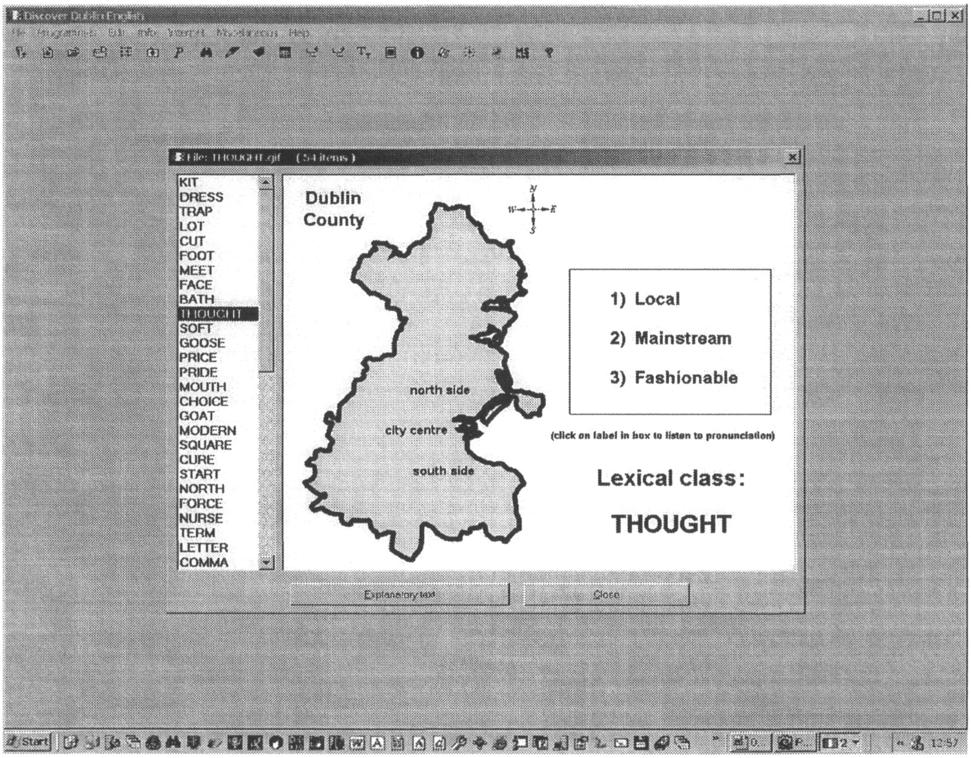
1) Introduction
2) Lexical sets
3) Maps and images
4) Extracts from files
5) Sound file selection
6) All sound files
7) Load active map
8) Hinterland of Dublin
9) The wider context
10) Survey of Irish English Usage
11) Literature about Dublin

View the introductory presentation of Dublin English

on authors in the field of Dublin English studies. One can also look at the many maps of Dublin and the images of the city.

When one starts *Discover Dublin English* there are a number of options at one's disposal. Perhaps the easiest way to become acquainted with these is to choose *List of all options* in the *File* menu (or simply press Ctrl-A).

The first option, *Introduction*, offers an introduction to Dublin English. It provides historical information, traces the rise of key features of Dublin English and discusses the present-day situation in some detail. Of particular importance is the discussion of present-day changes in Dublin English. When one begins to listen to the sound files included here one will notice that the vast majority of speakers are young people. This fact reflects a conscious decision made by the author at the beginning of his investigations into Dublin English.


KIT
DRESS
TRAP
LOT
CUT
FOOT
MEET
FACE
BATH
THOUGHT
SOFT
GOOSE
PRICE
PRIDE
MOUTH
CHOICE
GOAT
MODERN
SQUARE
CURE
START
NORTH
FORCE
NURSE
TERM
LETTER
COMMA
Dublin County
N
W
E
S
north side
city centre
south side
1) Local
2) Mainstream
3) Fashionable
(click on label in box to listen to pronunciation)
Lexical class:
THOUGHT
Explanatory text
Close
Start

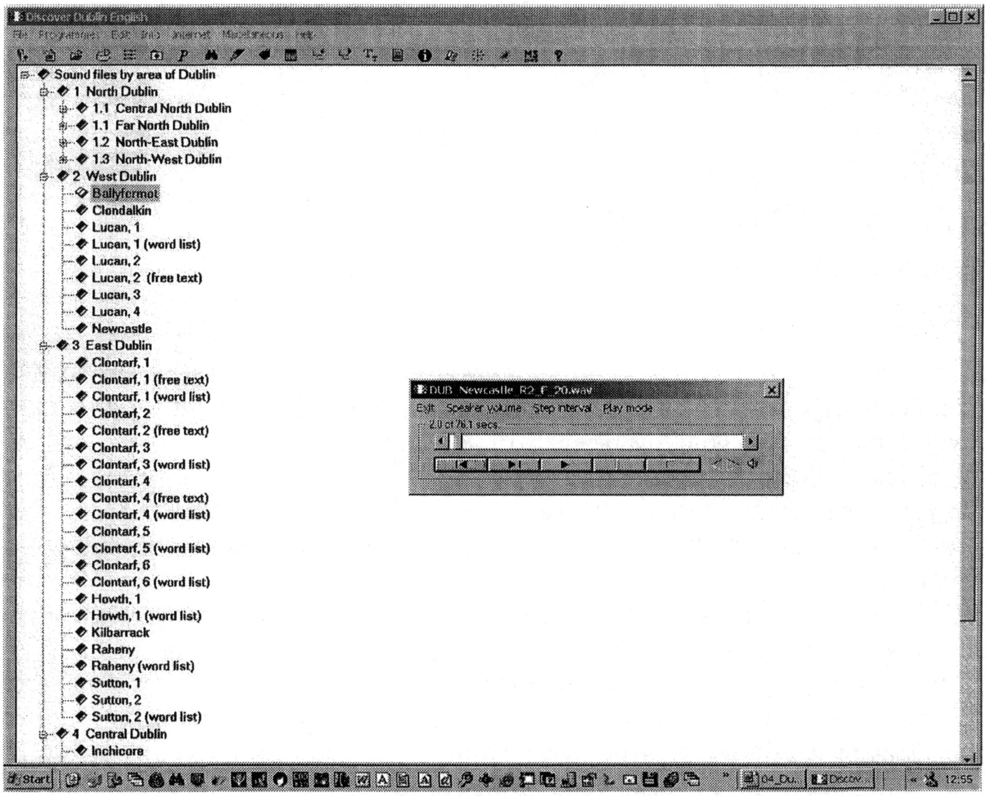
The broad intention of the current survey is to offer an overview of what contemporary Dublin English is like and in what direction it is presently evolving. For this goal the speech of the younger generation is of special significance for it is this social group which is setting the stage for the future development of English in the capital city. Furthermore, it is their speech which will represent the future supraregional variety within the Republic of Ireland.

The second option is labelled *Lexical sets*. Here one is presented with a window in which there is a list of keywords on the left and an outline map of Dublin on the right. There are three labels here: (1) local, (2) mainstream and (3) new. These represent the three broad divisions of Dublin English which have been used for the present investigation.

To listen to the pronunciation of the lexical sets all one needs to is to click on an element in the list on the left-hand side of the window and then click on a label on the right-hand side. A speaker reading one of the short sentences from the sentence list used in the recordings can then be heard illustrating the lexical set in question. By this means one can check easily on any pronunciation in the three main varieties of Dublin English. One can also choose to view an explanatory text which explains the principle of lexical sets and discusses some of the particular adaptations which have been necessary for the investigation of Dublin English.

The third option, *Maps and images*, contains a collection of maps and images of relevance to Dublin and Dublin English.

The fourth option is labelled *Extracts from files* and offers a set of extracts from sound files illustrating salient features of Irish English, specifically of Dublin English. The text window which opens for this option contains a number of highlighted items. These are displayed in blue and underlined. Clicking on any of these items will lead to the sound file associated with a particular item being played.

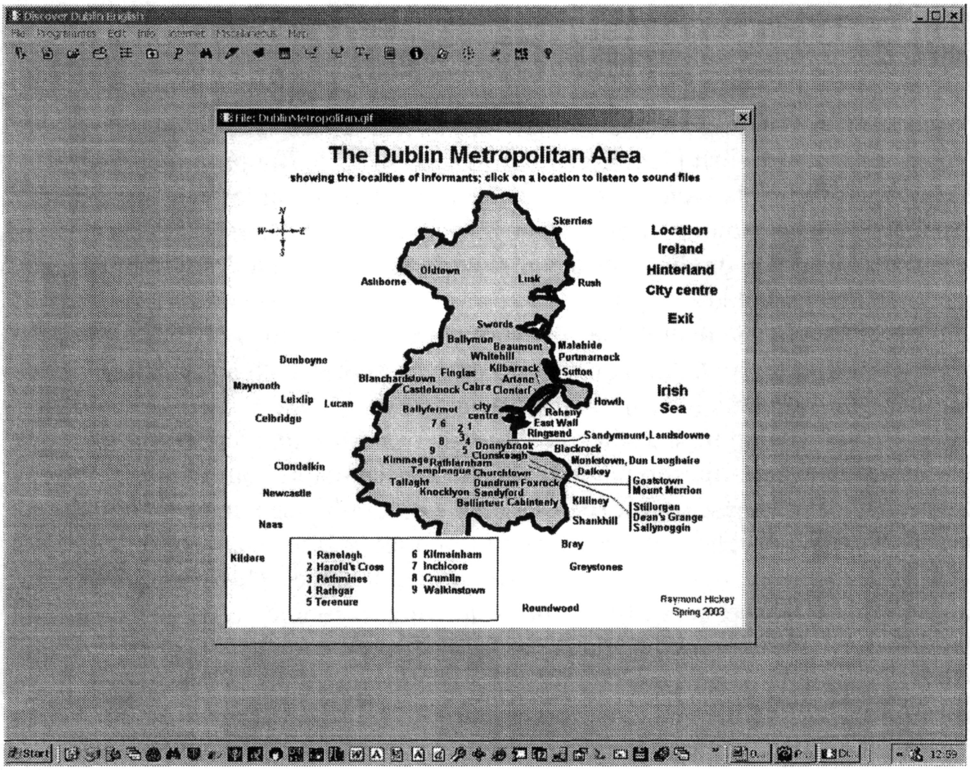

Discover Dublin English
File Programmes Edit Info Internet Miscellaneous Help
DUB_Newcastle_R2_F_20.wav
Exit Speaker volume Step interval Play mode
2.0 of 76.1 secs.
Start
04_Du...
Discov...
12:55

- Sound files by area of Dublin
  - 1 North Dublin
    - 1.1 Central North Dublin
    - 1.1 Far North Dublin
    - 1.2 North-East Dublin
    - 1.3 North-West Dublin
  - 2 West Dublin
    - Ballyfermot
    - Clondalkin
    - Lucan, 1
    - Lucan, 1 (word list)
    - Lucan, 2
    - Lucan, 2 (free text)
    - Lucan, 3
    - Lucan, 4
    - Newcastle
  - 3 East Dublin
    - Clontarf, 1
    - Clontarf, 1 (free text)
    - Clontarf, 1 (word list)
    - Clontarf, 2
    - Clontarf, 2 (free text)
    - Clontarf, 3
    - Clontarf, 3 (word list)
    - Clontarf, 4
    - Clontarf, 4 (free text)
    - Clontarf, 4 (word list)
    - Clontarf, 5
    - Clontarf, 5 (word list)
    - Clontarf, 6
    - Clontarf, 6 (word list)
    - Howth, 1
    - Howth, 1 (word list)
    - Kilbarrack
    - Raheny
    - Raheny (word list)
    - Sutton, 1
    - Sutton, 2
    - Sutton, 2 (word list)
  - 4 Central Dublin
    - Inchicore

The fifth option, *Sound file selection*, will display a tree with a selection of the sound files from the entire collection. This selection consists of some 43 samples from over 300 sound files in the complete data set. The idea is to offer users a first orientation in different forms of Dublin English.

Here the branches of the tree correspond to the divisions of Dublin English into local, mainstream and new. There is also a branch labelled *The new pronunciation* which is intended to illustrate the developments in present-day Dublin English. By listening to the sound files one can appreciate the changes in Dublin English which have been discussed in the body of this book.

The next option, *All sound files*, will display all the recordings from the current investigation. The organisation here is geographical and Dublin is divided into sections, labelled North, South, East, West and Central.


Discover Dublin English
File: DublinMetropolitan.gif
The Dublin Metropolitan Area
showing the localities of informants; click on a location to listen to sound files
N
W
E
S
Location
Ireland
Hinterland
City centre
Exit
Irish
Sea
Skerries
Oldtown
Ashborne
Lusk
Rush
Swords
Ballymun
Beaumont
Malahide
Whitehill
Portmarnock
Dunboyne
Kilbarrack
Sutton
Finglas
Blanchardstown
Artane
Maynooth
Castleknock
Cabra
Clontarf
Leixlip
Lucan
Howth
Celbridge
Ballyfermot
city centre
Raheny
East Wall
Ringsend
Sandymount, Landsdowne
Donnybrook
Blackrock
Clonskeagh
Clondalkin
Kimmage
Rathfarnham
Monkstown, Dun Laoghaire
Templeogue
Churchtown
Dalkey
Tallaght
Dundrum
Foxrock
Goatstown
Mount Merrion
Newcastle
Knocklyon
Sandyford
Ballinteer
Cabinteely
Killiney
Stillorgan
Dean's Grange
Sallynoggin
Shankhill
Naas
Bray
Kildare
Greystones
Roundwood
1 Ranelagh
2 Harold's Cross
3 Rathmines
4 Rathgar
5 Terenure
6 Kilmainham
7 Inchicore
8 Crumlin
9 Walkinstown
Raymond Hickey
Spring 2003
Start

Should users prefer a more visual representation then all the sound files can be accessed via an active map which can be loaded with the next option, *Load active map*. In this case all one need do is click on the name of a suburb of the city and a list of the speakers from this area is shown. A sound file can then be selected for listening.

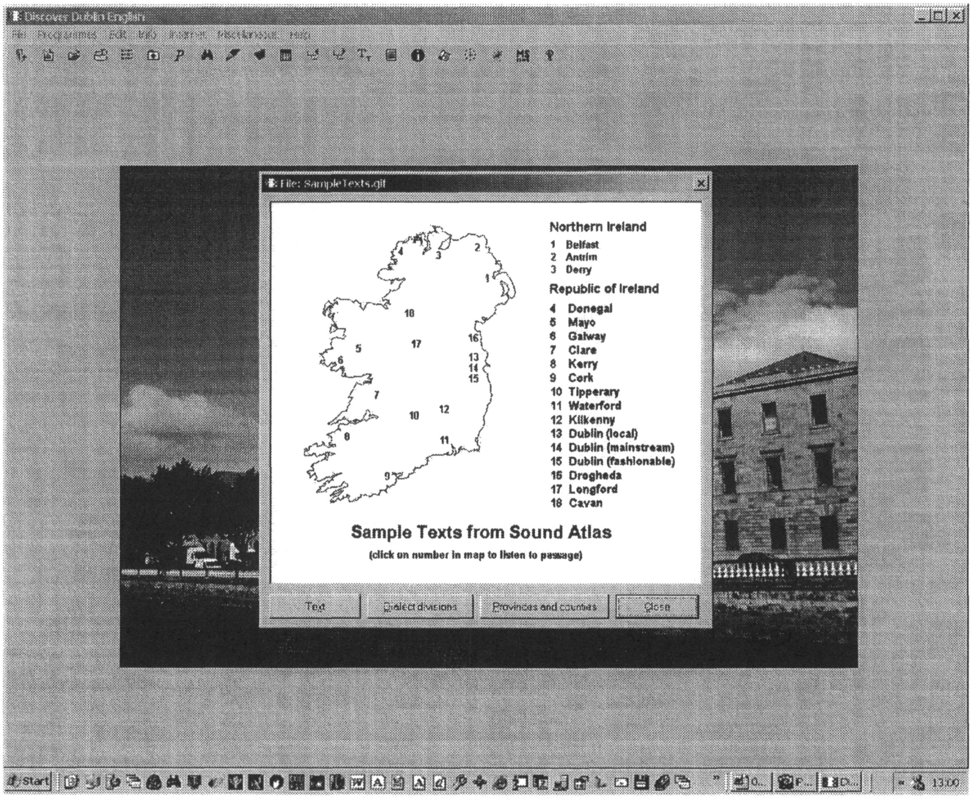
The eighth option, *Hinterland of Dublin*, offers a selection of sound files from the regions adjacent to Dublin. The idea here is to indicate the pronunciation of English in the hinterland of Dublin. This option also contains two maps one illustrating the divisions of Ireland into provinces and counties and one indicating the dialects divisions of Ireland.

In a similar vein the next option, *The wider context*, will display a map on which one can see various locations around the entire island of Ireland. Clicking on any of the locations shown will lead to a speaker reading the sample text which was used when compiling *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*.

The penultimate option loads a separate programme which provides an interface to *A Survey of Irish English Usage*. This survey covers the areas of morphology and syntax within Irish English and was conducted over a period of several years parallel to the collection of sound recordings. The survey was based on a questionnaire containing over 50 sentences embodying structures typical of Irish English (see discussion in section III 5 *The grammar of Dublin English*). Informants were asked to judge the sentences in terms of acceptance in casual speech among friends. They were basically three types of answer which allowed for grading of acceptability. Speakers could say that a given sentence represented *no problem*, was *a bit strange* or indeed was *unacceptable*. In all over 1,000 questionnaires were gathered throughout the entire island of Ireland. All 32 counties are represented with a particularly large number of informants for Dublin city (over 200).

The programme interface to *A Survey of Irish English Usage* allows one to interrogate the questionnaires which are available on CD-ROM as a collection of databases. One can select a particular sentence embodying a structure and then choose one or more counties to see what acceptance was like. Indeed one can select several structures at once. The programme will analyse the databases and offer returns showing the degree of acceptance. The results can be displayed in chart form and this chart can be copied to the *Windows* clipboard, printed, or saved to disk. More details about operation are given in the online help for the programme.

The final option, *Literature about Dublin*, shows some literature concerning Dublin and Dublin English. The references are available both as rich text format (RTF) files and as databases.



Northern Ireland

1	Belfast
2	Antrim
3	Derry

Republic of Ireland

4	Donegal
5	Mayo
6	Galway
7	Clare
8	Kerry
9	Cork
10	Tipperary
11	Waterford
12	Kilkenny
13	Dublin (local)
14	Dublin (mainstream)
15	Dublin (fashionable)
16	Drogheda
17	Longford
18	Cavan

Sample Texts from Sound Atlas

(click on number in map to listen to passage)

The many maps and texts which are supplied on the CD-ROM can be accessed easily from the menu group *Info*. This also contains bibliographical references on Irish English in general.

Technical note

The files on the present CD-ROM have been compressed to reduce size. The technique used is the original 'Layer 3' technique developed by the Frauenhofer Institut in Germany. The files all have the extension `.wav` and can be played automatically by using any version of the windows media player supplied with recent versions of Microsoft *Windows*. A special MPEG player is not required to listen to the files.

If you wish, you can further process the sound files. For instance, if you are interested in doing spectrographic analysis then you could take any file and import it into appropriate software and analyse the material further. The only request which the present author has is that you acknowledge the source of the sound files you use in any published literature or any material distributed via the Internet.

1.2 Other programmes in the suite

There a number of further programmes supplied on the CD-ROM which users might find convenient for various processing tasks arising from using the main programme. The following is a list of these additional programmes. All of these can be accessed from the menu group *Programmes*. There are comprehensive help files for each of these programmes which can be accessed by pressing F1.

Word processor This is a programme for editing plain texts or files in Rich Text Format. It can be used to process any output files generated by other programmes or for taking notes while using *Discover Dublin English*. There are a large number of options which facilitate text editing. File name: `De_WPro.exe`.

Internet browser Any HTML files can be viewed with the current utility. Internet files can be converted to RTF format easily. When online the programme can be used to browse the internet. File name: `DE_Net.exe`.

File manager To carry out such housekeeping tasks as copy, moving, renaming, editing or deleting files one can use this programme. It contains a large number of options which can be activated from a single desktop. File name: `DE_FM.exe`.

Database manager Any data which is ordered in a structured fashion, such as the items in a bibliography, can be processed in the form of a database. The present programme can be used to manage such databases. There are also a few supplied databases in the current suite (literature on Dublin). File name: `DE_DBED.exe`.

Make database With the present utility one can design databases, using an existing database as a model if one wishes. File name: `DE_MKDB.exe`.

Report form generator To transfer information from a database to a text editing environment one needs a report form which specifies the manner in which data is transferred. With the current utility such report forms can be easily designed. File name: `DE_REPDB.exe`.

Make links At the end of the setup operation when first installing the contents of the CD-ROM a number of links to the programmes of the suite are generated and placed in a desktop folder. Should this folder be deleted for any reason, it can be regenerated with the necessary links using the current utility. File name: `DE_Links.exe`.

Make dataset The control file which is used by *Discover Dublin English* to display the nodes and branches of a tree associated with data files can be altered or redesigned with the current utility. With it one can determine the appearance of the tree within the main programme and so customise data display if one wishes. File name: `DE_MKDTS.exe`.

Survey of Irish English Usage In order to view the data from the questionnaires of *A Survey of Irish English Usage* one needs to load the current programme which will display all the information of the survey and which allows one to interrogate the data to see what the geographical distribution of returns is like. File name: `SIEU.exe`.

1.3 Troubleshooting file

Installation The first thing one must do is copy all the data on the accompanying CD-ROM as outlined in the text display by the setup programme `SETUP.EXE` which is in the root directory of the CD-ROM. Most probably everything will be installed to the `C:` drive, but if the hard disk is partitioned into more than 1 logical drive then one can copy all the data to some drive above `C:`, e.g. `D:`, `E:`, `F:`, etc. After the installation there will be a directory called `C:\Program Files\ Discover Dublin English` assuming that the instructions have been followed as suggested. Again, the instructions given in the install programme show be followed carefully.

Loading data files within Discover Dublin English This is done by choosing a so-called dataset file from a directory listing. All information, i.e. the file names of the recordings and their position in a structured tree, is contained in the dataset file. There are a few supplied dataset files all of which are located in the directory `C:\Program Files\Discover Dublin English\DE_Data`. When a dataset has been selected any file can be opened by clicking on a branch label in the tree which is displayed.

If one uses the *List all options* window to access datasets then a dataset file does not have to be selected as this is done automatically by *Discover Dublin English.*

Phonetic fonts If phonetic symbols are not displayed correctly this is normally due to the fact that the supplied fonts were not installed (registered) by *Windows*. This should happen automatically during installation, but if it has not for some reason then this can be remedied easily. Start *Windows Explorer* and enter the directory `C:\Windows\Fonts`. In the *File* menu on the top left of the screen, choose the option *Install new font* (this is only available when in the *Windows* font directory. Now select the fonts `X_TIMES.TTF` and `X_ARIAL.TTF`. Click on the button *Ok* and the fonts are installed. One can double check on this by starting one's own word processor, probably Microsoft *Word*, or the supplied word processor of the *Discover Dublin English* suite. There is a list of available fonts in each of these programmes (accessible through the font list at the top of the screen). The phonetic fonts should appear in this list if they have been registered by *Windows*. By selecting either font one has phonetic symbols at one's disposal should one wish to use these when writing texts.

In more recent versions of *Windows* it is sufficient to copy fonts into the directory `C:\Windows\Fonts`. They are then automatically registered by *Windows*. During the installation of *Discover Dublin English* these fonts are copied to the correct directory so that the procedure just described should in principle not be necessary.

Screen display For proper display *Discover Dublin English* requires a video setting of 1024 x 768 pixels (dots on the screen) or more. This resolution is suitable for monitors of 17" and larger. It is necessary for the texts of various windows, messages, input boxes, etc. to be shown correctly on the screen. The setting for screen fonts can be easily specified by users. It is accessible under *Properties, Settings, Advanced* on the *Windows* Desktop (click right mouse button).

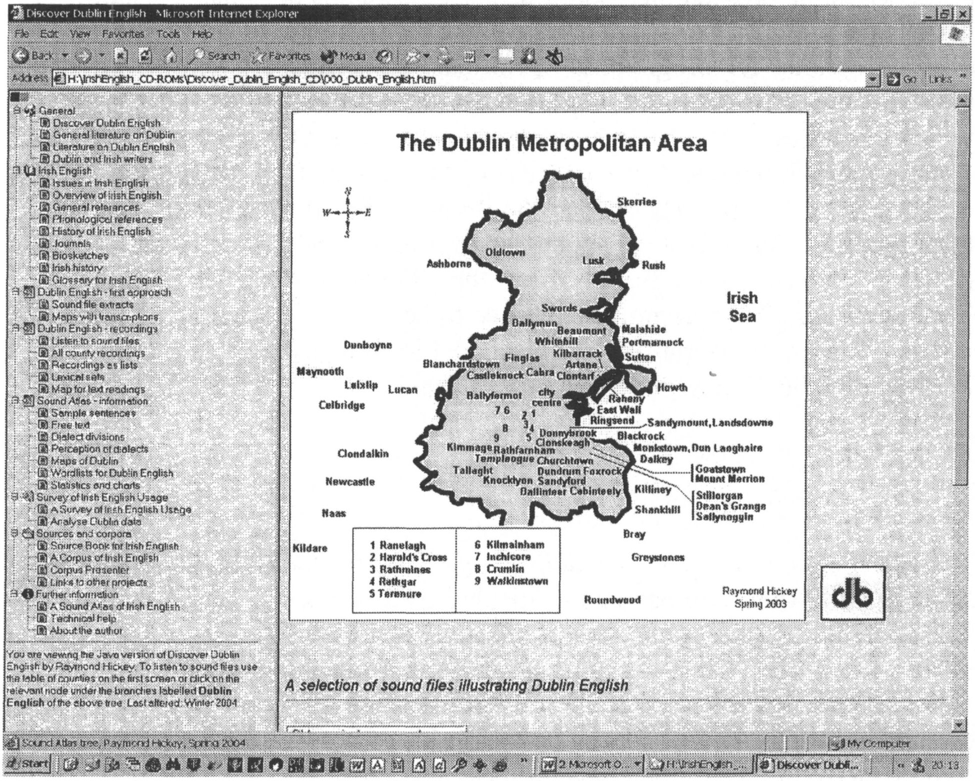
If the text area of a window is black this simply means that the user-specifiable colour has not been set. In a window where this might occur there will always be an option *Set colour* which one can activate to choose a colour for display.

Initialisation files All the programmes of the *Discover Dublin English* suite use a small text file – called an initialisation file – which is stored in the same directory as the programme itself. Such a file contains personalised settings for various parameters of a programme, e.g. the path for data files, colours used for display, options for programme operations, for instance, when carrying out searches, etc. An initialisation file shows the same name as the programme which generates it, but has the extension `.INI`, e.g. the programme *Discover Dublin English* has the file name `DISC_DE.EXE` and its initialisation file is called `DISC_DE.INI`. These files should never be edited directly, nor should they ever be deleted. If this happens inadvertently, and the initialisation file in question cannot be recovered from the *Windows* Recycle Bin, then the parameters for all programmes will have to be set again manually. Failing that one could copy the supplied initialisation file from the CD-ROM. Such files are stored in the directory `\Disc_DE\DE_Add`.

1.4 Java version

The Java version of *Discover Dublin English* utilises the technology of internet browsers and their components to display data of various types. To start the Java version of the sound atlas, proceed as follows (on a PC): start the Windows *Explorer*, then log onto the CD-ROM. Double click on this file (the first in the root directory): `000_Dublin_English.htm`. On an Apple *Macintosh* the name of this file will appear on the desktop once you insert the CD-ROM into the drive of the computer and you can then open this file. In both cases the operating system of the computer (PC or *Macintosh*) will use the default browser to load the Java version of the sound atlas. When it begins it will present you with an Explorer-like tree containing several branches and nodes.

Each node is associated with an item or set of data. All you need to do is click on a node to access the information associated with it. To listen to the sound files you must have a soundcard in your computer with loudspeakers or headphones attached. The operating system of your computer will then use the default software module to play the sound files. On a PC this may well be the Windows *Media Player* and on a *Macintosh* this is likely to be *Apple Quick Time*.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Irish English
Issues in Irish English
Overview of Irish English
General references
Phonological references
History of Irish English
Journals
Biosketches
Irish history
Glossary for Irish English
Dublin English - first approach
Sound file extracts
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Recordings as lists
Lexical sets
Map for text readings
Sound Atlas - information
Sample sentences
Free text
Dialect divisions
Perception of dialects
Maps of Dublin
Wordlists for Dublin English
Statistics and charts
Survey of Irish English Usage
A Survey of Irish English Usage
Analyse Dublin data
Sources and corpora
Source Book for Irish English
A Corpus of Irish English
Corpus Presenter
Links to other projects
Further information
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About the author
The Dublin Metropolitan Area
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Oldtown
Ashborne
Lusk
Rush
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Swords
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Beaumont
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Kilbarrack
Sutton
Blanchardstown
Artane
Maynooth
Castleknock
Cabra
Clontarf
Leixlip
Lucan
Howth
Ballyfermot
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Celbridge
East Wall
Ringsend
Sandymount, Landsdowne
Donnybrook
Blackrock
Clonskeagh
Clondalkin
Kimmage
Rathfarnham
Monkstown, Dun Laoghaire
Templeogue
Churchtown
Dalkey
Tallaght
Dundrum
Foxrock
Goatstown
Mount Merrion
Newcastle
Knocklyon
Sandyford
Ballinteer
Cabinteely
Killiney
Stillorgan
Dean's Grange
Sallynoggin
Naas
Shankhill
Bray
Kildare
1 Ranelagh
2 Harold's Cross
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Raymond Hickey Spring 2003
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H:\IrishEnglish_CD-ROMs\Discover_Dublin_English_CD\000_Dublin_English.htm

You are viewing the Java version of Discover Dublin English by Raymond Hickey. To listen to sound files use the table of counties on the first screen or click on the relevant node under the branches labelled **Dublin English** of the above tree. Last altered: Winter 2004

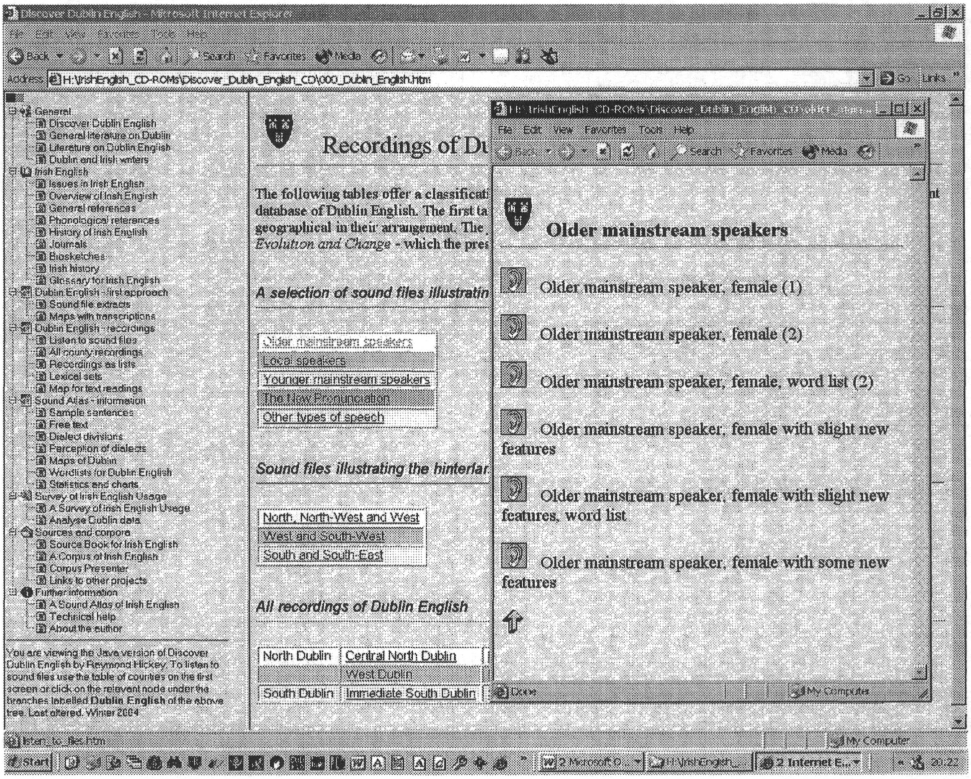
A selection of sound files illustrating Dublin English

Sound Atlas tree, Raymond Hickey, Spring 2004

Once the Java version starts you can immediately access the sound files of Dublin English. This can be done by clicking on the name of a suburb in the active map of Dublin (see screenshot above) or by clicking on a label in one of the tables which can be viewed on the right-hand side of the screen. When you do this a popup window opens as can be seen below.

In the recordings window there are three different sets of data which are intended to provide an increasingly detailed acoustic picture of Dublin English.

1) A selection of sound files illustrating Dublin English
2) Sound files illustrating the hinterland of Dublin
3) All recordings of Dublin English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  - Literature on Dublin English
  - Dublin and Irish writers
- Irish English
  - Issues in Irish English
  - Overview of Irish English
  - General references
  - Phonological references
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- Dublin English - first approach
  - Sound file extracts
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- Dublin English - recordings
  - Listen to sound files
  - All county recordings
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- Sound Atlas - information
  - Sample sentences
  - Free text
  - Dialect divisions
  - Perception of dialects
  - Maps of Dublin
  - Wordlists for Dublin English
  - Statistics and charts
- Survey of Irish English Usage
  - A Survey of Irish English Usage
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  - A Corpus of Irish English
  - Corpus Presenter
  - Links to other projects
- Further information
  - A Sound Atlas of Irish English
  - Technical help
  - About the author

You are viewing the Java version of Discover Dublin English by Raymond Hickey. To listen to sound files use the table of counties on the first screen or click on the relevant node under the branches labelled **Dublin English** of the above tree. Last altered. Winter 2004

Recordings of Du

The following tables offer a classificati
database of Dublin English. The first ta
geographical in their arrangement. The
Evolution and Change - which the pres

A selection of sound files illustratin

Older mainstream speakers
Local speakers
Younger mainstream speakers
The New Pronunciation
Other types of speech

Sound files illustrating the hinterlar

North, North-West and West
West and South-West
South and South-East

All recordings of Dublin English

North Dublin	Central North Dublin
	West Dublin
South Dublin	Immediate South Dublin

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My Computer

Older mainstream speakers

Older mainstream speaker, female (1)

Older mainstream speaker, female (2)

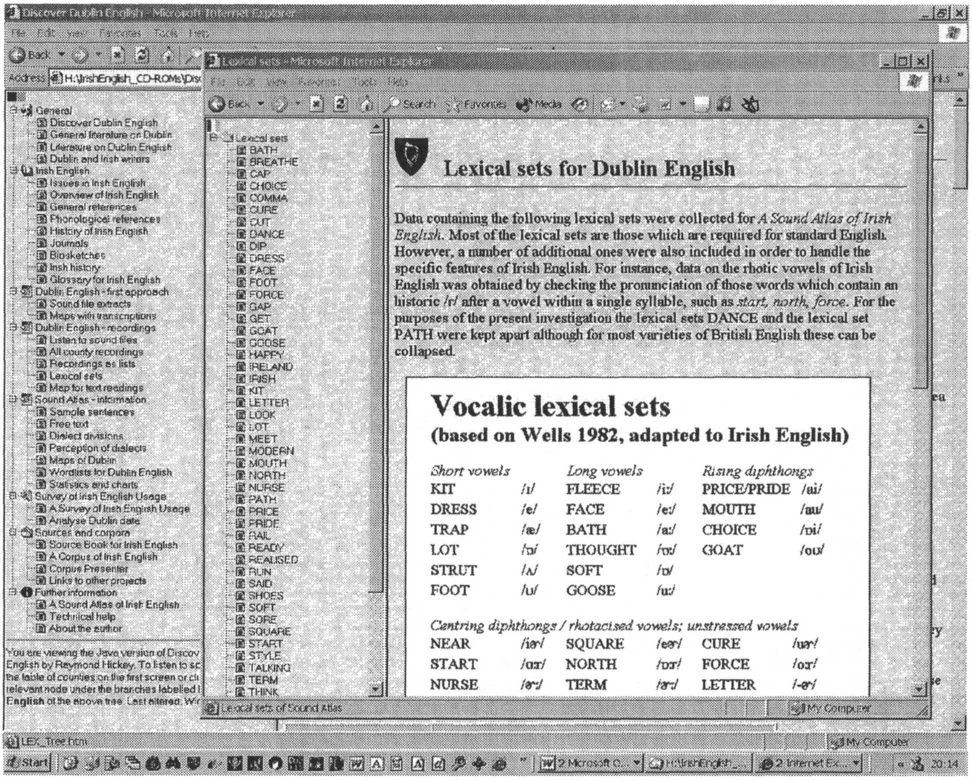
Older mainstream speaker, female, word list (2)

Older mainstream speaker, female with slight new features

Older mainstream speaker, female with slight new features, word list

Older mainstream speaker, female with some new features

The realisations of lexical sets can be listened under the node *Lexical sets* in the branch *Dublin English - recordings* in the tree on the left. On first selecting this node a window opens and an explanatory text can be seen in which the vocalic and consonantal lexical sets are displayed and commented on. The sample sentences which embody these lexical sets and which were read aloud by all speakers can also be viewed. In the lexical set window there is also a tree, this time with all the lexical sets for which there are recordings in the sound atlas.


Discover Dublin English - Microsoft Internet Explorer
Address H:\IrishEnglish_CD-ROMs\Disc
General
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General literature on Dublin
Literature on Dublin English
Dublin and Irish writers
Irish English
Issues in Irish English
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BATH
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DANCE
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HAPPY
IRELAND
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KIT
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NORTH
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English by Raymond Hickey. To listen to sc
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Lexical sets for Dublin English

Data containing the following lexical sets were collected for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*. Most of the lexical sets are those which are required for standard English. However, a number of additional ones were also included in order to handle the specific features of Irish English. For instance, data on the rhotic vowels of Irish English was obtained by checking the pronunciation of those words which contain an historic /r/ after a vowel within a single syllable, such as *start, north, force*. For the purposes of the present investigation the lexical sets DANCE and the lexical set PATH were kept apart although for most varieties of British English these can be collapsed.

Vocalic lexical sets

(based on Wells 1982, adapted to Irish English)

Short vowels		*Long vowels*		*Rising diphthongs*	
KIT	/ɪ/	FLEECE	/iː/	PRICE/PRIDE	/ai/
DRESS	/e/	FACE	/eː/	MOUTH	/au/
TRAP	/æ/	BATH	/aː/	CHOICE	/ɒi/
LOT	/ɒ/	THOUGHT	/ɒː/	GOAT	/ou/
STRUT	/ʌ/	SOFT	/ɒ/		
FOOT	/ʊ/	GOOSE	/uː/		
Centring diphthongs / rhotacised vowels; unstressed vowels					
NEAR	/iər/	SQUARE	/eər/	CURE	/uər/
START	/ɑːr/	NORTH	/ɒːr/	FORCE	/oːr/
NURSE	/əːr/	TERM	/əːr/	LETTER	/-ər/

V Lexical sets for Dublin English

A lexical set consists of a group of words all of which have the same pronunciation for a certain sound in a given variety. For instance, the lexical set TRAP is used to refer to the pronunciation which speakers of a variety have for the sound which is /æ/ in RP. So if speakers use [a] or [ɛ] in TRAP it is taken that they will use [a] or [ɛ] in all other words which contain this vowel, e.g. *bad, latter, shall*, that is in the words which comprise the lexical set. The advantage of this is that instead of saying the realisation of the /æ/ vowel in variety X – which phonetically can be quite far removed from [æ] – one can refer to the vowel in the lexical set TRAP.

Lexical sets were first presented in an explicit form in John C. Wells' three volume work *Accents of English* (Cambridge University Press, 1982). These were intended to cover the vowels of RP and their realisations in accents of English throughout the world. However, it became increasingly apparent that the group was not sufficient to deal with the phonetic distinctions present in many forms of English outside England. For instance, there may also be historical distinctions present in varieties of English which have been lost in more mainstream varieties of English or indeed innovations outside of standard English may demand different lexical sets for their descriptions via this technique. For instance, in local Dublin English short high vowels before tautosyllabic /r/, and back vowels after /w/ in the same position, have developed into a vowel which is phonetically something like [ʊː], e.g. *first* [fʊː(ɹ)st], *work* [wʊː(ɹ)k]. Mid front vowels in this position, however, are realised by [ɛː], e.g. *germ* [gɛː(ɹ)m], thus merging with the vowel realisation in the SQUARE lexical set. Because of this, Wells' NURSE lexical set is represented by two such sets in the present book, NURSE illustrating the [ʊː] pronunciation and TERM showing the [ɛː] realisation.

The original lexical sets devised by Wells only refer to vowel values. But of course the variation among consonants across forms of English is considerable so for this book consonantal lexical sets have been included. The relevant consonant in such lexical sets is indicated by underlining, e.g. WHICH referring to the use of [ʍ] or [w] at the beginning of this word and all others like it. Again the usefulness of lexical sets is immediately obvious here: for varieties of English in the Republic of Ireland it makes little sense to talk of the realisation of /θ/ or /ð/ because so many speakers never have neither [θ] or [ð]. Instead the possibilities range between a dental and alveolar stop, i.e. [t̪, d̪] or [t, d]. For this reason, the lexical sets THINK and THIS have been introduced to refers to sounds which in more mainstream varieties of English are [θ] and [ð] respectively.

The following tables indicate the lexical sets necessary for a comprehensive treatment of Dublin English. The realisations indicated after the keywords are those found in mainstream Dublin English.

Short vowels		*Long vowels*		*Rising diphthongs*	
KIT	/ɪ/	FLEECE	/iː/	PRICE/PRIDE	/ai/
DRESS	/ɛ/	FACE	/eː/	MOUTH	/au/
TRAP	/æ/	BATH	/aː/	CHOICE	/ɒi/
LOT	/ɒ/	THOUGHT	/ɒː/	GOAT	/oʊ/
STRUT	/ʌ/	SOFT	/ɒ(ː)/		
FOOT	/ʊ/	GOOSE	/uː/		

Centring diphthongs / rhotacised vowels; unstressed vowels

NEAR	/iɚ/	SQUARE	/eɚ/	CURE	/uɚ/
START	/ɑːr/	NORTH	/ɒːr/	FORCE	/oːr/
NURSE	/ɚː/	TERM	/ɚː/	LETTER	/-ɚ/
COMMA	/-ə/	HAPPY	/-i/		

Low vowels before (i) nasal + obstruent, (ii) voiceless fricatives

DANCE	/aː/	PATH	/aː/

Consonantal lexical sets needed for Dublin English

Dental stops/fricatives		*Alveolar stops*					
THINK	/t̪ (θ)/	TWO	/t-/	WATER	/-t-/	GET	/-t/
THIS	/d̪ (ð)/	DIP	/d-/	READY	/-d-/	SAID	/-d/

L-sounds		*R-sounds*	
RAIL	/-l/	RUN	/r-/
LOOK	/l-/	SORE	/-r/

Velar stops		*Velar nasal*	
GAP	/g-/	TALKING	/-ŋ/
CAP	/k-/		
Alveolar and alveolo-palatal sibilants			
SHOES	/ʃ/, /z/		
Labio-velar glide, voiced and voiceless			
WET /w-/		WHICH	/hw-/

The following is a set of comments on the realisations of the above lexical sets. The remarks here are essentially similar to those in the detailed discussion in section III of this book. The advantage of this presentation is that readers not familiar with Dublin English but acquainted with Wells' 1982 lexical sets have a quick reference list for the pronunciation of Dublin English.

Vowels

KIT /ɪ/ This is identical to present-day British English, no lowering or centralisation is found in DE, as opposed to northern Ireland.

DRESS /ɛ/ This is essentially the same as in present-day British English, perhaps slightly lower, hence the use of /ɛ/ rather than /e/.

TRAP /æ/ As in more recent forms of southern British English, this vowel is quite open. In popular DE it is raised before /r/, e.g. *car* [kæː˔ɹ].

LOT /ɒ/ This low back vowel is traditionally an open mid to front low vowel but in 'Dublin 4'-like accents it was raised and slightly rounded, much like German *Kost.* However, this pronunciation is now recessive. CLOTH words have the same realisation as THOUGHT words, long low back vowel, more open than British English in mainstream varieties but raised in new forms of DE.

STRUT /ʌ/ A retracted and perhaps slightly rounded short vowel is used here. This is often written as [ʌ̈] where the diaeresis indicates centralisation of the cardinal vowel. Any rounding is insignificant and *pot* is acoustically separate from *putt*. In popular DE the STRUT set has the same vowel as the FOOT set (similar to northern England).

FOOT /ʊ/ Basically the same as present-day southern British English, a quite forward realisation is found in new DE.

FLEECE /iː/ The vowel used in this set is unremarkable in mainstream DE but it tends to break in popular DE, e.g. *mean* [miʲən].

FACE /eː/ A long monophthong [eː] is the normal realisation in DE as in the south of Ireland in general. The rising diphthong [ei] is found nowhere but the whole vowel may be lowered in vernacular varieties, i.e. one may have [fɛːs].

BATH /aː/ Eastern dialects of Ireland (the most conservative stemming from before 1600) have a short /æ/, e.g. *bath* is [bæt] (with alveolar [t] for TH). Other varieties of IrE have a long [aː] in such words. Due to general low vowel lengthening in DE, the BATH vowel is always long, i.e. one has [bæːt].

THOUGHT /ɒː/ In mainstream varieties the vowel in this set is rather open and unrounded, more so in colloquial varieties. In new DE the vowel here is raised considerably as part of the Dublin vowel shift, i.e. *thought* is [t̪ɔːt̺] or even [t̪oːt̺].

SOFT /ɒ(ː)/ This word, and all historically similar instances, e.g. *cross, frost*, have a long vowel in Dublin (traditionally and in newer varieties) although other general varieties of Irish English have a short vowel here.

GOOSE /uː/ The vowel in this set is not a marker of any variety of DE, except in popular DE where the vowel may be broken (parallel to the similar breaking of /iː/), e.g. *school* [skuʷəl]. In its unbroken form the vowel is quite forward, especially in new DE.

PRICE /ai/ There are basically three types of realisation here. General Irish English varieties have [aɪ], eastern dialects (including popular DE) have [əɪ]. New DE may have a retracted starting point – seen in [ɑɪ] – as a remnant of the original retraction of 'Dublin 4' English of the 1980s, but this is increasingly rare.

PRIDE /ai/ For some speakers the retraction of the diphthong starting point, as in [ɑɪ], may only be present when /ai/ is stressed and followed by a voiced consonant or a word boundary. Such speakers have a conditional realisation of /ai/ similar to that in so-called Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973).

MOUTH /au/ In eastern dialects and in Dublin (traditionally and in newer varieties) there is a front starting point for the vowel in this set, at least [æ], colloquially [ɛ]. Because of the influence of newer varieties of DE the raised starting point is spreading very quickly, especially among young females. But traditionally, Irish English has a low starting point, i.e. [au] is normal.

CHOICE /ɒi/ The starting-point here is quite open, except for newer varieties of DE which have characteristic raising of the onset, e.g. *toy* [tɔɪ] or [toɪ].

GOAT /oʊ/ In traditional vernacular and rural varieties, outside of Dublin, a long monophthong is found here: [goːt̠̭]. In local DE, a diphthong with a low starting point is found: [gʌot̠̭]. In mainstream DE there is normally slight diphthongisation with a higher starting point, i.e. [goʊt̠̭]. The realisation with a centralised starting point, [əʊ], is a prominent feature of new DE.

NEAR /iɚ/, SQUARE /eɚ/, CURE /uɚ/ These sets have a vowel followed by a rhotacised schwa which means that the three centring diphthongs of RP, consisting of vowel plus schwa, do not exist in DE or any variety of Irish English.

START /ɑːr/ Although the TRAP vowel is central or front, there is some retraction before /r/ in this lexical set in mainstream varieties. Local DE does not show this, but rather has a fronted realisation.

NORTH /ɒːr/ Traditionally, the vowel in this set is quite open. However, it has been raised considerably in new DE and has merged with the FORCE vowel for many advanced speakers. This means that words like *morning* and *mourning* are homophones whereas for mainstream speakers the first word would have a lower vowel than the second.

FORCE /oːr/ The [oː] vowel found in this set is typical of all varieties of Irish English, i.e. the open realisation typical of the NORTH set does not apply here. Speakers of new DE have a vowel followed by a retroflex [ɻ] in this set.

NURSE /ɚː/ A centralised rhotacised schwa without lip rounding is found in this set. In popular DE the vowel is raised and retracted and often non-rhotic, i.e. [nʊː(ɹ)s].

TERM /ɚː/ For mainstream varieties this set is identical to the previous one. But popular Dublin English has an [ɛː] vowel here, possibly rhotacised somewhat. The distribution of the vowels in this and the previous lexical set is as follows: after historic /u/ and after labials (irrespective of the vowel) [ʊː] is found; in all other cases [ɛː] occurs. This accounts for the following realisations: *nurse* [nʊː(ɹ)s], *turn* [tʊː(ɹ)n], *work* [wʊː(ɹ)k], *first* [fʊː(ɹ)s(t)], *bird* [bʊː(ɹ)d]; *circle* [sɛː(ɹ)kl̩], *certain* [sɛː(ɹ)tn̩], *germ* [dʒɛː(ɹ)m] but there are some exceptions, e.g. *dirt* [dʊː(ɹ)t].

LETTER /-ɚ/ A rhotacised schwa is found in this set, except in popular DE which is only very weakly rhotic, if at all. In non-rhotic forms of DE the vowel here is quite low, in the region of [ɐ].

COMMA /-ə/ Here a normal schwa is found. This vowel maybe somewhat lowered in popular DE.

HAPPY /-i/ A tense vowel is found in DE, as in all varieties of Irish English, north and south.

DANCE /aː/ The vowel in this set is never retracted as in southern British English although it is always long. Retraction is taken as a stereotype of British English and often deliberately imitated as in *She speaks with a grand* [grɑːnd] *accent.*

PATH /aː/. The realisation here is essentially that found in BATH, see above.

Consonants

THINK /t̪ (θ)/ A dental stop is found in both mainstream and new DE but an alveolar stop is typical of popular DE. /t̪/ → [θ] is only found word-finally as an approximation to standard English with some speakers in careful speech (and hence to be heard in many recordings on the CD). This is furthered by the fact that /t/ is fricativised in word-final positions anyway so there is a parallelism between the following two realisations: (i) *pat* /pæt/ → [pæt̰], (ii) *path* /pæt̪/ → [pæθ].

THIS /d̪ (ð)/ As with the previous lexical set, a dental stop is characteristic of all varieties except popular DE which shows an alveolar stop. The shift to [v] (or to [f] in the THINK lexical set), which is found in other varieties of English, is unknown in Ireland.

TWO /t-/ In initial position /t/ is not lenited so that one has a normal stop. In new DE there is a tendency for very slight affrication, especially in the speech of females, i.e. one frequently has realisations like [t^{s}uː] for *two*. The same remarks apply to an initial voiced alveolar stop, i.e. to the DIP lexical set.

WATER /-t-/ In mainstream varieties, /t/ intervocalically and word-finally before a pause is fricativised. The resulting segment is an apico-alveolar fricative, i.e. a [t] but without the closure necessary for the stop. Following a convention introduced in Hickey (1984a), the following symbol is used for fricativised /t/: [ṱ] (a *t* with a subscript caret indicating the lack of closure). In popular varieties of DE a flap [ɾ] can be found intervocalically. This is also to be heard among some speakers of new DE and is spreading quickly. In popular DE /t/ is usually lenited further to /h/ or zero.

READY /-d-/, SAID /-d/. In principle the lenition which applies to /t/ also holds for /d/. However, it is not as obvious and generally has low phonetic salience.

GET /-t/ For mainstream varieties of DE the realisation here is the same as that in the WATER lexical set. In popular DE the /t/ is frequently deleted, e.g. *foot* [fʊh] or [fʊ]. If an element of this lexical set is followed by a vowel-initial word then a flap [ɾ] may occur. This can be heard clearly with many young female speakers in recordings containing the test sentence *They bought* [ɾ] *a new bath last week.*

RAIL /-l/ A velarised [ɫ] was previously only found in popular varieties of DE. Mainstream varieties and supraregional Irish English had an alveolar [l] in all positions. However, the [ɫ] of popular DE has been adopted into new DE and hence is spreading rapidly in the speech of young people throughout the Republic of Ireland.

LOOK /l-/ The lateral in word-initial position is always alveolar, irrespective of the syllable-final realisation.

RUN /r-/ In word-initial position, /r/ is realised as an alveolar continuant, i.e. [ɹ].

SORE /-r/ In new DE a retroflex [ɻ] is used. This has no precedent in varieties of southern Irish English and is a genuine innovation of the past two decades in Irish English. Mainstream varieties still use a non-retroflex [ɹ] (as in word-initial position). With the spread of retroflexion, the next generation will use [ɻ] in mainstream varieties unless the current trend is reversed.

GAP, CAP The realisation of the velar stops is unproblematic in DE. A velar offglide to the front low vowel is indicative of northern Irish English.

TALKING /-ŋ/ As in so many varieties of English, the shift from [ŋ] to [n] in unstressed syllables is typical of vernacular modes of speech. The alveolarisation of /ŋ/ is not as widespread in mainstream DE as it is in northern Irish English.

SHOES /ʃ-z/ The realisation of sibilants is generally the same as in mainland British English. In the context of DE it is important to realise that [s] and [t̰] are clearly distinguished phonetically so that *kiss* [kɪs] and *kit* [kɪt̰] are not homophones.

WET /w/ is always realised as [w] which may merge with /hw/ [ʍ], see following.

WHICH /hw-/ Mainstream DE generally distinguishes between *which* and *witch*, but new Dublin English is losing this distinction sporadically (by voicing the first segment in *which*). The use of [w] in this set is typical of popular DE which is probably why the merger of *which* and *witch* in new DE is not categorical.

VI Glossary

***ai*-retraction** A process whereby the onset of the vowel in PRICE is retracted somewhat in Dublin English. This retraction was typical of the now old-fashioned 'Dublin 4' accent (from the 1980s) and is hence not emulated by the younger generation today (2004). For some speakers the retraction may, however, be present before a voiced consonant, i.e. in the PRIDE lexical set.

***au*-fronting** A process in which speakers use a front starting point for the diphthong of the MOUTH lexical set. A vowel like [æ] or [ɛ] in this position is found in vernacular varieties of English on the east coast, especially in Dublin. A fronted realisation of the MOUTH vowel has spread among young people in Ireland due to the influence of new pronunciations of Dublin English.

Ascendancy Originally a reference to the Protestant ruling class in 18th century Ireland. It came to refer particularly to the ruling gentry and later as a vague term for a putative Protestant elite in Ireland.

Belfast The capital of Ulster at the estuary of the river Lagan in the north east of the country. It was founded in the 17th century and expanded greatly with the development of such industries as ship-building in the 19th century. Linguistically, it is an amalgam of Ulster Scots and Mid-Ulster English inputs along with independent developments of its own, especially in the last century. It is largely Protestant though certain parts, like west Belfast, have Catholic majorities.

Brogue A term stemming from the Irish word either for 'shoe' or 'a knot in the tongue'. Its actual origin cannot be ascertained anymore. The label was already known to Shakespeare and has been used indiscriminately in the past four centuries for any strongly local accent of Irish English. Occasionally the term is used outside of Ireland as in 'Ocracoke Brogue' to refer to the local accent of offshore islands in North Carolina.

Cork The second largest city in the south of Ireland. It has an easily recognisable accent with distinctive intonational patterns (with great variations in pitch) not found in the rest of the south.

'Dart' accent A non-linguistic term which has been used in Dublin to describe the new pronunciation of English there. The reference is to the suburban railway line which travels through many upmarket residential areas where this accent is supposed to occur.

Derry The second largest city in Ulster on the banks of the river Foyle near where it enters the sea. It has always had a special status in west Ulster and in the context of the state of Northern Ireland it is remarkable in having a Catholic majority. The label 'Londonderry' stems from the 17th century when London undertaker companies were commissioned to plant the city with English settlers.

Dublin The capital of the Republic of Ireland located in the centre of the east coast and by far and away the largest city in the entire island with nearly one third (slightly over 1 million) people living in its metropolitan area.

Dublin English A cover term for a group of varieties of English in the capital of the Republic of Ireland. English here has a long history going back to the late 12th century. The vernacular varieties in the city have a distinct phonetic profile and non-local inhabitants of the city have in the past 15 years or so avoided this by dissociating themselves from the local pronunciation. The new pronunciation which has developed as a result of this process is spreading rapidly in the south of Ireland and will supplant the current mainstream variety in the next generation.

'Dublin 4' accent. A dated reference to a pronunciation of English which was putatively characteristic of those who lived in the upmarket postal district of Dublin 4 in the 1980s. See *Dart accent.*

East Coast A dialect region in Ireland (including the capital Dublin) which is roughly equivalent to the area of original settlement by the Anglo-Normans and English in the late 12th century. This region shows several features not shared by varieties to the north and west of the country, e.g. the occurrence of unshifted [ʊ] in the STRUT lexical set (Dublin) and the archaic uvular [ʁ] of north Leinster.

First period (1200-1600) One of the two main divisions in the history of Irish English. It begins with the Anglo-Norman invasion in the south-east in 1169. An external endpoint could be seen in the military defeat of the Irish by the English in 1601. Essentially by 1600 the resurgence of the Gaelic order, and with it the Irish language, had come to an end and the 17th century saw the importation of newer varieties of English on a wide scale in both the north and south of the country. See *Second period.*

Forth and Bargy Two baronies in the extreme south-east of Ireland, in Co. Wexford, where a particularly archaic form of English, from the medieval period of settlement in Ireland, was spoken up to the beginning of the 19th century.

Hibernia The Latin word for Ireland, possibly deriving from the word for 'winter' but more likely from the name of an ancient tribe associated with Ireland.

Irish The name for either the people of Ireland or the Celtic language still spoken by a small minority chiefly on the western seaboard.

Jackeen A colloquial term for a Dubliner.

lexical set A reference to a group of words all of which have the same pronunciation for a certain sound. For instance, the lexical set TRAP is used to refer to the pronunciation which speakers of a variety have for the sound which is /æ/ in RP.

Leinster One of the four provinces of Ireland in the east, south-east of the island, consisting of 12 counties and containing the capital Dublin.

***l*-velarisation** A process whereby laterals are pronounced with the lowering of the body and the raising of the back of the tongue yielding a characteristic hollow sound. This is typical of new pronunciations of Dublin English.

Midlands The centre of Ireland which is a flat expanse bordered by the hills and mountains which occupy the coastal regions of the country. This expanse stretches from an area west of Co. Dublin as far as the Shannon linking up with east Clare, Galway and Mayo and on a north-south axis delimited by the border with Northern Ireland in the north and to the south by a line running roughly from Limerick across to Dublin.

Munster One of the four provinces of Ireland in the south, south-west of the island, consisting of six counties.

Northern Ireland Since 1921 a state within the United Kingdom. It consists of six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster and was created as an option for the Protestant majority in the north-east of Ireland, descended from original Scottish and English settlers, to remain within the British union.

Old English A reference to the English settlers in pre-Reformation Ireland, i.e. the descendants of the late medieval settlers who came at the end of the 12th century. This group was mostly assimilated to the native Irish. Those who were left had the option of changing to Protestantism with the adoption of this as state religion under the Tudors.

Pale A term for the area of Dublin, its immediate hinterland and a stretch of the east coast down to the south-east corner which was fairly successful in resisting increasing Gaelicisation up to the 16th century. The varieties of English in this area still show features which stem from late medieval Irish English whereas those further west in the country show greater evidence of influence from Irish, the native language before the switch-over to English.

Republic of Ireland Since 1949 the official name for the south of Ireland (excluding Northern Ireland). With the declaration of a republic, Ireland left the Commonwealth and formally achieved a greater degree of independence from the United Kingdom.

retentionist view An approach in Irish English studies where considerable weight is accorded to regional English input to Ireland in the genesis of the specific forms of English there. This stance implies that Irish is not assumed to have played a central role.

rhoticity A reference to the degree to which vowels are pronounced with r-colouring (realised by curling back the tip of the tongue). Local Dublin English is only slightly rhotic, i.e. has low rhoticity.

***r*-retroflexion** A process whereby vowels are pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled back noticeably towards the hard palate, thus evincing high rhoticity. This is in contrast and probably a reaction to the situation in local Dublin English.

Second period (1600 to the present) The second main division in the history of Irish English. In the early 17th century the widespread settlement of Ulster by people from Lowland and Western Scotland took place at the instigation of James I. By the middle of this century newer varieties of English were being imported as a consequence of the Cromwellian campaigns in Ireland and successful plantation of areas east of the Shannon. The newer varieties in the north and south fed directly into modern forms of Irish English. See *First period.*

'slit' *t* A reference to the pronunciation of /t/ as an apico-alveolar fricative in weak positions (intervocalically or word-finally after a vowel and before a pause). This articulation shares all features with the stop /t/ but is a continuant. The realisation is ubiquitous in the south of Ireland and common in the north as well. It is also found, as a transferred feature, in the speech of the Irish-derived community in Newfoundland.

SOFT-lengthening A process which is typical of east coast urban Irish English, above all of Dublin English, where the vowel in words of the SOFT lexical set, e.g. *off, cross,* etc., are pronounced with a long vowel.

Stage Irish A stereotypical Irishman who began to make an appearance in English drama at the beginning of the 17th century and who remained well into the 19th century. The term does not have any precise linguistic reference but is used popularly to denote any individual who is assumed to display supposedly Irish characteristics, such as flattering, flowery language and melodramatic behaviour to an exaggerated extent.

substratist view An approach in Irish English studies where considerable weight is accorded to structural transfer from Irish into English during the genesis of the specific forms of English in Ireland. This stance implies that regional English input is not assumed to have played a central role.

supraregionalisation A process in which salient vernacular features of a variety are replaced by more standard ones, frequently from an extranational norm, as with southern British English vis à vis Irish English. The motivation for this move is to render a variety less locally bound and thus more acceptable to the non-vernacular community.

Ulster Scots The language of the Scottish settlers, in the coastal regions of the north and north-east of Ulster, and of their descendants. Much assimilation and mixing have taken place in the past few centuries especially in cities like Belfast.

Ulster A province of Ireland in the north of the country. It consists of nine counties, six of which now form the state of Northern Ireland. Co. Donegal in the extreme north-west is part of the Republic of Ireland but has more linguistic features in common with speech in Northern Ireland, both with Ulster Scots and Mid-Ulster English.

vernacularisation A process in which non-local speakers style-shift downwards to achieve a vernacular effect. An example of this would be the use of *youse* or *yez* for the second person plural in Ireland. This is normally avoided by non-local speakers but can be employed when deliberately switching to a vernacular mode.

West A reference to the large area of western Ireland from Clare up to Sligo. Of all areas of the country this was Irish-speaking longest.

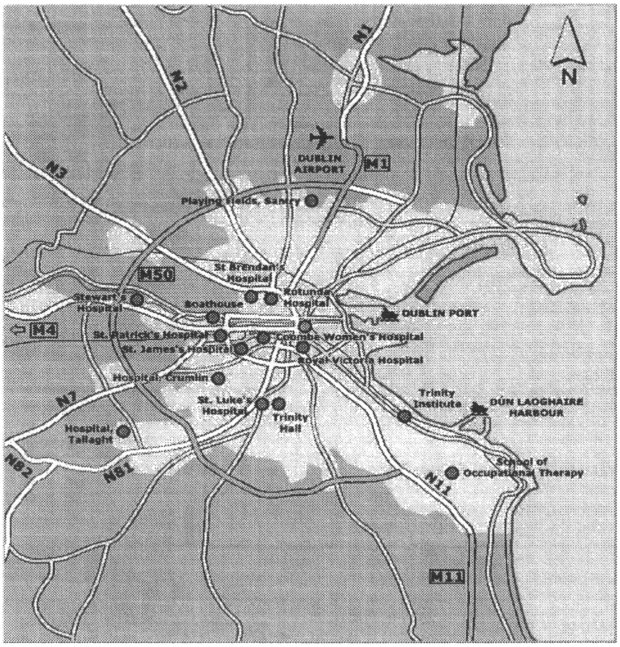
West Brit A somewhat derogatory term for those Irish people who have strong English leanings and tend to regard other Irish as rustic and naive.

WHICH-voicing The use of a voiced labio-velar approximant at the beginning of those words which are written with an initial WH-, i.e. which historically showed a voiceless segment – [ʍ] – in this position.

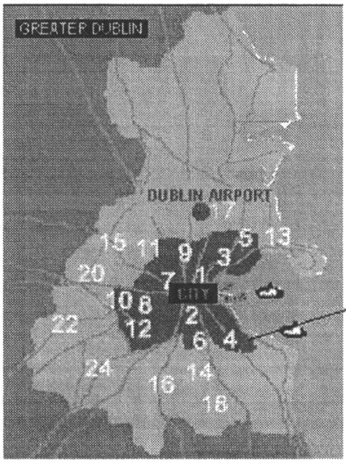
word list style A type of reading style in which informants read single words from a list. Speakers tend to be least vernacular in their speech when reading such lists.

Yola The form of the word 'old' in the dialect of Forth and Bargy which came to be used as a reference to the dialect itself.

Maps


N
N1
N2
N3
DUBLIN AIRPORT
M1
Playing fields, Santry
M50
St Brendan's Hospital
Rotunda Hospital
Stewart's Hospital
Boathouse
DUBLIN PORT
M4
St. Patrick's Hospital
Coombe Women's Hospital
St. James's Hospital
Royal Victoria Hospital
Hospital Crumlin
St. Luke's Hospital
Trinity Hall
Trinity Institute
DÚN LAOGHAIRE HARBOUR
N7
Hospital, Tallaght
N82
N81
School of Occupational Therapy
N11
M11

Map 1: *The greater Dublin area*


GREATER DUBLIN
DUBLIN AIRPORT
17
15
11
9
5
13
3
20
7
1
CITY
10
8
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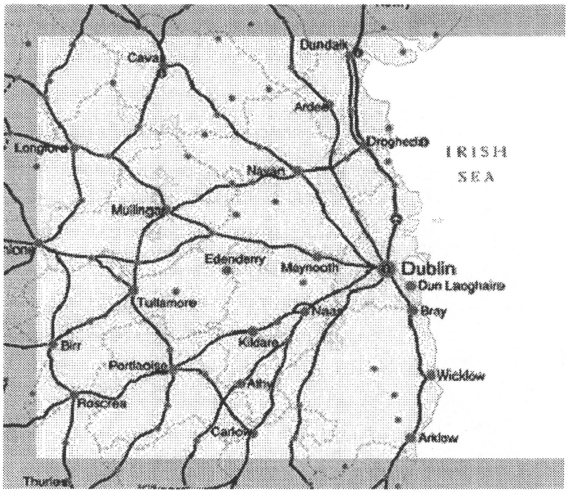
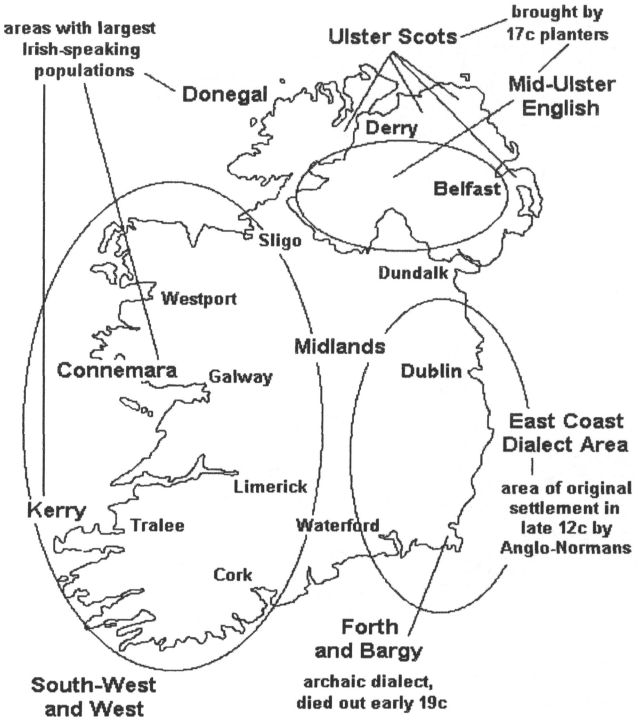
6
4
24
14
16
18

The prosperous area and postal district "Dublin 4" from which an extreme form of fashionable Dublin English formerly took its name, now often in a shortened form as in "She speaks with a D4 accent". More recently the label "Dartspeak" has come to be used, referring to the parts of the city served by this suburban railway.

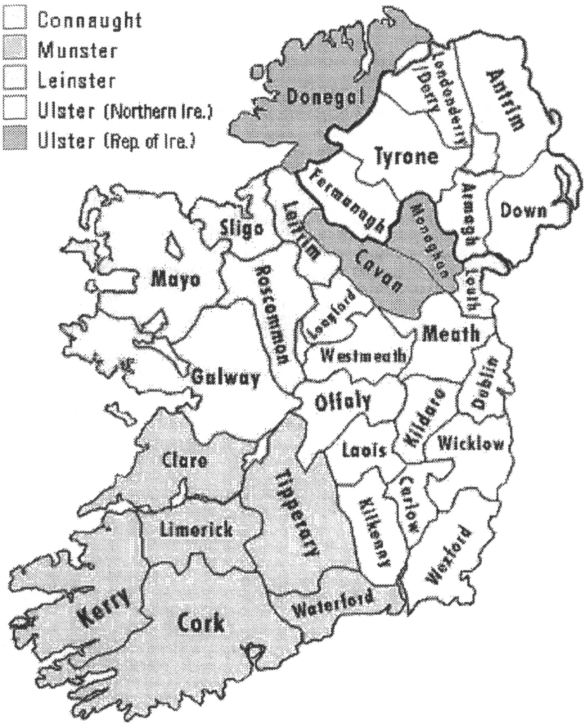
Map 2: *Dublin postal districts*


Cava
Dundalk
Arde
Longford
Droghed
IRISH SEA
Navan
Mulling
Edenderry
Maynooth
Dublin
Dun Laoghaire
Tullamore
Naas
Bray
Birr
Kildare
Portlaoise
Athy
Wicklow
Roscrea
Carlow
Arklow
Thurles

Map 3: *The hinterland of Dublin*


areas with largest Irish-speaking populations
Donegal
Ulster Scots
brought by 17c planters
Mid-Ulster English
Derry
Belfast
Sligo
Dundalk
Westport
Midlands
Connemara
Galway
Dublin
East Coast Dialect Area
area of original settlement in late 12c by Anglo-Normans
Limerick
Kerry
Tralee
Waterford
Cork
Forth and Bargy
archaic dialect, died out early 19c
South-West and West

Map 4: *Dialect divisions of Ireland*


Connaught
Munster
Leinster
Ulster (Northern Ire.)
Ulster (Rep. of Ire.)
Donegal
Londonderry /Derry
Antrim
Tyrone
Fermanagh
Monaghan
Armagh
Down
Sligo
Leitrim
Cavan
Louth
Mayo
Roscommon
Longford
Meath
Westmeath
Galway
Offaly
Kildare
Dublin
Laois
Wicklow
Clare
Tipperary
Carlow
Kilkenny
Limerick
Wexford
Kerry
Cork
Waterford

Map 5: *Counties and provinces of Ireland*

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Note. The above files can be accessed as a group from the option *Sound files referred to in book* which is available within both the Windows and the Java version of the programme *Discover Dublin English* on the accompanying CD-ROM.